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# IRON CURTAIN

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## SPECIAL FEATURE

### BIRTH OF A "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY"

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## About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

## About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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# Levers of Party Pressure

## I. MASS ORGANIZATIONS

By means of mass organizations such as labor unions, youth groups, women's leagues, sport clubs and paramilitary associations, Communist Parties have established effective control over the East European peoples. According to the Bulgarian press, "the Communist Party would not have been in a position to realize its leading role in the present system of the dictatorship of the proletariat had it not relied on the active assistance of [these] organizations." In the current period, when Communist Parties are reducing membership by rigid entrance requirements, mass organizations are being expanded to include not only non-partisan citizens, but also those who are unacceptable to the Party because of age or other reasons. Led by Party members who occupy key posts, they are used to carry out policies of the regime. Through these "transmission belts," the Party propagates Communist theory, intensifies production and conducts political, cultural and economic campaigns. Although membership is allegedly voluntary, those who refuse to join are restricted in their activities and regarded as "political unreliaables."

In an editorial entitled "We Must Continually Strengthen the Ties between the Masses and the Party," *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), April 18, stressed the fact that the "Party's success in building Socialism depends upon close cooperation with the masses":

"Thousands of non-Party members are working in the Fatherland Front organizations, in trade unions, in the Dimitrov Youth Union and in the cooperatives. Mass organizations constitute a powerful link between the Party and the working class. The task of Party organizations is to strengthen mass organizations and control and direct their work for the successful solution of problems connected with the building of Socialism. . . .

"The role of the Fatherland Front has been underestimated. At the June plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Chervenkov said: 'Anyone who dares to underestimate the authority of the Fatherland Front, who undermines its role as an important factor in the system of our democracy, damages this system' . . . At the Third Congress of the Fatherland Front, it was decided that Party organizations must help in

planning activities and in strengthening the Fatherland Front, especially in villages. . . .

"Experience has shown that Party organizations can achieve success only when they are in close contact with non-Party members, when they influence them in discussions of political problems and when they supervise their political and ideological development."

### Youth Trained As Future Stalinist Leaders

The following report by a Bulgarian exile analyzes the purposes of Communist indoctrination and describes the role of mass organizations in carrying out Soviet policy:

"Communist indoctrination in Bulgaria is both general and specialized. It is based on the Bolshevik system of Stalinist indoctrination, the goal of which is to ensure loyalty to the Soviet Union. General propaganda is carried out by mass organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Union, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [Communist sector] and the Bulgarian Red Cross. These groups propagate Communist theory among non-partisan adults. Soviet experts assume that the so-called 'older generation' belonging to these organizations is infected with 'bourgeois capitalist ideals,' and cannot be thoroughly indoctrinated in devotion to the USSR. Therefore, these mass organizations concentrate on increasing the State's economic output rather than on training their members as future Stalinist leaders. A rise in Bulgarian production ultimately serves Soviet economic needs.

"Bulgarian youth and cadres of the Bulgarian Communist Party receive more specialized indoctrination since potential Communist leaders are chosen from their ranks. Specialized propaganda therefore has the aim of creating leading Party cadres that are blindly devoted to the Soviet Union. Cominform agents, Soviet 'specialists' in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Dimitrov Union of the People's Youth are responsible for carrying out this program."

### Bulgarian Youth Group Is Party Tool

The report summarizes the organizational structure and activities of the Dimitrov Union of the People's Youth (DUPY), which recruits members from seven to twenty-five years of age:

"As described by Premier Vulko Chervenkov in April, 1951, DUPY 'is the largest reservoir from which the Com-

munist Party . . . draws its cadres. At the same time, DUPY is . . . a tool used by the Communist Party to keep young people under its control.' Chervenkov equated DUPY with the Soviet Komsomol and pointed out that 'the Bulgarian Communist Party directs and must direct DUPY; otherwise the Union cannot carry out its tasks.'

"At the beginning of 1951, DUPY had a membership of 737,000. 263,000 members were girls. Although it has been officially announced that most DUPY members are workers, the actual percentage of young workers is relatively small. Most of them are either students or farmers.

"DUPY is managed by a Central Committee composed of Party members and candidate-members. The Committee directs the activities of the network of district, county, city, borough, village and factory branch organizations. DUPY's main objective is to achieve one hundred percent membership of youth. The President of DUPY is Luchezar Avramov, a Soviet protege. The two secretaries of the organization are Vladimir Ganov and Zvetan Bojkov.

"Each member of DUPY is obliged to attend courses arranged by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. These courses in political indoctrination take up almost all the free time of young people. Some of the most important seminars are in Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism; the history of the Bolshevik Party; and in the biographies of Stalin, Lenin and other Communist leaders. Other DUPY courses reported in the press deal with the world situation from the Soviet point of view, the achievements of the Soviet Union, and major scientific discoveries of Soviet origin.

#### DUPY Members Taught to Hate West

"DUPY members are also taught to hate the West. *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), April 1, stated that 'branch organizations of DUPY in all educational institutions are waging a relentless battle against the remnants of the bourgeoisie, against the effects of American cosmopolite culture, and against the ill-fated American way of life.'

"Since these topics seldom interest young people, attendance at these courses is below Communist expectations.

"Young people who have completed courses in Bolshevik indoctrination are obliged to become agitators. They conduct lectures and seminars from material prepared in advance by the Central Committee of the Communist Party."

#### Military Training of Youth

Other activities of DUPY include sports, military training and youth clubs:

"In order to recruit youth for DUPY, the regime has organized many youth clubs, festivals and outdoor activities. By planning these amusements, the Communists are trying to counteract the influence of non-Communist parents on children.

"Most of DUPY's members participate in State-managed sports. Any young person who is not a member of a sport organization is forbidden to attend any sporting event. Certain sport norms are required; when members attain these norms they are awarded the GTO badge [Ready for Labor and Defense].

"In 1950, the Volunteer Organization for Defense [DOSO] was established to give young people pre-military training. DUPY, working in collaboration with this organization, selects from its own ranks the young people who are to attend DOSO courses in shooting, parachuting, signalling, aviation, chemical defense and ship modeling.

"DUPY members are trained also as State informers. In highly confidential memos, they are instructed to seek out and report to the militia all activities of the 'class enemy.'"

#### Romanian Youth Group



"Pioneers express appreciation for the opportunities made available to them under the people's regime." (Taken from the *Romanian News*, published by the Legation of the Romanian People's Republic, Washington, D. C., September 23, 1951.)

#### Pioneer Movement in Hungary

An Hungarian teacher who recently fled to Vienna has given the following account of the Pioneer Movement, a mass organization for children from six to fourteen years of age:

"A Pioneer group is attached to every school in Hungary. All other children's organizations, such as the cub scouts, have been disbanded. At group meetings, children are indoctrinated in the principles of Bolshevism and are taught Communist marching songs. Songs praising Stalin, the Soviet Union and Matyas Rakosi are heard on the streets whenever the children are taken on school excursions. Many Pioneer groups are named after the heroes of Soviet children's books. There are groups called Zoya Kozmodemianskaya, Ulyana Gromova, Olev Koshevoy and Olga Shernovskaya. Children are taught that the most serious crime is listening to the American radio broadcasts, and are instructed to denounce their parents if they catch them in this activity.

"The Pioneers are strictly disciplined. Each group has a large bulletin board on which names of members are listed down the middle. The right side of the bulletin board represents America, and the left side, the Soviet Union. Each side is divided into forty columns. If a pupil does not know his lessons, or if he is unruly, his marker on the board is moved two columns toward the American side. If he is outstanding in his work, his



marker is moved to the left, and if he is merely mediocre, his marker remains in the middle. Ratings are printed in black on the American side, and in red on the Soviet side. The American side is decorated with pictures of atomic bombs and death heads, while the Soviet side has pictures of factory columns, corn fields and the scythe and sickle.

"At Pioneer camps boys and girls receive pre-military training. They learn to march in formation and to manipulate rifles made of wood. They are also trained in target practice and are required to collect scrap."

A fourteen year old girl who escaped from Hungary with her parents has described activities in a Pioneer camp in Transdanubia:

"Last August I was sent to a Pioneer camp along with about 100 boys and 70 girls between twelve and fourteen years of age. Most of the day we spent in the fields, weeding, hoeing and unloading. We were given daily lessons in Communist doctrine and learned Pioneer songs. Whenever the names of Stalin or Rakosi were mentioned during the lessons, we had to stand up and applaud. In general discussions we were given subjects such as the war in Korea, the atomic bomb, American atrocities and the oppression of the Negroes in the US.

"In the evenings boys and girls were permitted to visit each other's tents. After the camping season was over, it was discovered that fifteen girls were pregnant. Our leaders told us that 'Bearing children is the duty of women and an honor for girls.'"

#### DISZ to Be Expanded

Radio Budapest, March 18, announced that the Communist Party has passed a resolution to strengthen and expand the Hungarian youth organization. This decision is in line with the Party's recent move to reduce its membership and to increase the ranks of DISZ (Communist Youth Organization):

"A few days ago the Political Committee of our Party adopted an important resolution to strengthen the structure of DISZ, the Union of Working Youth, and to develop its educational work. . . . The Party wants the DISZ to fulfill its role more effectively and to become a source upon which the Party can draw for replenishment. In other words, the Party wants DISZ to become worthy of the great Soviet Komsomols. . . . The resolution of the Political Committee therefore ruled that county, town and district Party secretaries will henceforth bear direct personal responsibility for DISZ organizations in their areas. . . . Today DISZ, which is a mass organization, has fewer members than the Party which forms its vanguard. This is an unnatural and intolerable situation. . . . The DISZ must mobilize hundreds of thousands of young people in order to attain the goals set by the Party and the government. It must educate youth in the heroism of labor, in love of country and Party. It must teach young people how to hold their own on the production front and in their studies. Another important task is to improve Marxist-Leninist courses in DISZ organizations. . . . A strong DISZ needs tens of thousands of new members from the ranks of non-Party youth. [Only then] will DISZ become a mobile and sensitive organization of non-Party workers for the Party."

#### Women Recruited for Labor

The Democratic Association of Hungarian Women, officially termed MNDSZ, has, among other things, the tasks of recruiting women for production and increasing the number of skilled female laborers. On March 8, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), outlined the duties of women and, by implication, the platform of MNDSZ:

"The most important task of Hungarian women is to help build Socialism, to strengthen their country and to contribute to the success of the Five Year Plan. . . . Women must . . . prove that in the work of construction they are men's equals. They should follow the example of Soviet women, who work creatively and who constantly seek to improve their knowledge. . . ."

Again stressing women's place in industry, *Szabad Nep*, April 1, published some statistics on the number of skilled women workers in Hungary:

"Women work as lathe operators, handle enormous cranes, drive streetcars, direct traffic. . . . They can be seen wearing military and police uniforms. . . . 100 women are working as factory managers, 658 as foremen, 696 as crane operators. About 4,000 work as streetcar operators and over 600 women are tractor drivers. 305 women are council chairmen, 111 are heads of producers' cooperatives. . . . So far 4,979 women in our country have received the Stakhanovite award; 1,051 have received other State awards and 40 have been granted the Kossuth prize. . . ."

The following report emphasizes the role of MNDSZ in training and recruiting women for industry:

"Since the regime wants to employ 650,000 new workers in industry and recruit 50 percent of them from the ranks of women, MNDSZ is continually stressing this task of women in a Socialist regime. After recruiting and training women for factory and other specialized work, MNDSZ agitators have the additional job of indoctrinating them in the principles of Leninism and Stalinism. Discussion groups and seminars are organized by MNDSZ for this purpose and weekly reports on the progress of students are sent by MNDSZ leaders to the Central Committee of the Communist Party."

Other activities of MNDSZ were described by *Szabad Nep*, April 1, in a report on a meeting of MNDSZ delegates in the Budapest area:

"The delegates passed a resolution to expand the mass influence of MNDSZ among Budapest housewives and to get them to participate in the struggle for peace. Participants of the meeting also cabled their protests against the villainous germ warfare waged by American imperialists in Korea."

#### Mass Organizations in Czechoslovakia

The leading mass organizations in Czechoslovakia are the Revolutionary Trade Union Council, the Youth League, the Czechoslovak-Friendship League and the Sokol Community. Until its recent dissolution, the Czechoslovak Women's League was of equal importance. An exile lawyer

has summarized the major functions of each of these organizations:

"During the Nazi occupation, the Germans unified the pre-war Czechoslovak trade union organizations and used them to promote higher production. After the war, the Communists took them over and used them to enforce administrative directives and facilitate the confiscation and nationalization of industrial enterprises. The Communist Trade Union Organization was also the chief means by which the regime introduced higher work norms and stiffened labor discipline. Workers were compelled to take part in Socialist competitions, labor brigades and Sunday shifts.

"The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, established before the war, numbers over two million members. Its main task is the Sovietization of Czechoslovak life. Under the League's auspices, mass attendance has been achieved at Soviet films and in Russian language courses. The League's publishing house has been responsible for various works devoted to Soviet culture.

"The Czechoslovak Youth League was established by the Communists after the war, and competed with other, non-Communist youth groups. When the Scouts was dissolved, its members were forced to join the Youth League. Membership in some branch of the organization is necessary for admission to universities, for advancement in jobs and in the Army, and for participation in organized sports. Officials of the League have a great deal of authority in schools and plants, where they give tests, allocate work and decide upon promotions. The League has also been used to estrange children from their parents.

"On April 19, the Czechoslovak Women's League, the only mass organization for women, was dissolved and replaced by a Czechoslovak Women's Committee, a governing body without mass membership. Its only lower organs will be women's committees attached to the national committees. This move is apparently intended to strengthen the regime's control over women and to compensate for the failure of the League, which was designed to play a major role in Communist propaganda campaigns and to recruit women for work and train them in skilled labor. The new committee will form part of the local administration setup and thus have more authority to ensure the fulfillment of these tasks.

"The Sokol Community, which was established in the latter part of the nineteenth century by a group of Czech patriots, supervises pre-military training. The Sokol groups train youth in parachuting, and in other defense sports. Sokol activities are closely coordinated with the program of the Union for Cooperation with the Army. Sokol groups in the villages are expected to be decisive instruments in the collectivization campaign."

#### **Inductees Forced to Join Youth Associations**

Czechoslovak mass organizations also play an important part in the special "re-education" of army recruits. While "politically unreliable" draftees are conscripted immediately after registration and subjected to an intense indoctrination course, other recruits are assigned "patriotic tasks" in the six months period before they are required to report for military service. These tasks often involve joining paramilitary and youth organizations. *Rude Pravo*

(Prague), March 23, reported as follows on the activities at registration centers:

"After the recruits are welcomed, the propaganda center takes over. The recruits are addressed by representatives of the Youth League, the Sokol, the Trade Union Council and the League for Cooperation with the Army. . . . In Kladno, the recruits attended Soviet films. In the Prague south region, the recruits immediately learned the reason for becoming staunch defenders of their country. They were also encouraged to increase their work output before entering active military service. They were persuaded to sign commitments to this effect. One agricultural worker, for example, pledged to increase the daily milk output of one cow to 26 liters. . . . Many similar pledges were signed. The publication of these pledges increases the effectiveness of the propaganda.

"Today the main task during registration is to convince the draftee to join paramilitary organizations and the Youth League. The assignment of the draftee will be decided upon just before he is conscripted. This assignment will depend upon the draftee's preparedness for military service and upon whether or not the tasks given him during registration have been fulfilled."

#### **Farmers' Organizations Liquidated**

The Czechoslovak press has recently reported the liquidation of the two mass organizations of farmers. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 15, announced the dissolution of the Uniform Czech Farmers' Organization because of its failure to implement the Communist collectivization program:

"In dealing with activities of our farmers who efficiently share in the leadership of the Communist Party . . . we question whether the continued existence of the Farmers' Organization is desirable. More and more often, members of local groups ask for a solution. It becomes evident that the continuance of the Organization would mean a division of our forces and would not contribute to the improvement of our agriculture. . . . Therefore, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Uniform Czech Farmers' Organization has decided after careful consideration . . . on the voluntary dissolution of the Organization and all its branches . . . in order to unify the best forces and strengthen and develop uniform cooperatives. . . ."

The newspaper *Lud* (Bratislava), March 15, announced the dissolution of the Slovak Farmers' Organization:

"In the meeting of March 14, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Uniform Slovak Farmers' Organization . . . discussed matters of political and organizational life. . . . A resolution was passed proclaiming the voluntary dissolution of the Organization."

A former member of the Czechoslovak Parliament and a farmer by profession has made the following comment on the dissolution of these organizations:

"The farmers' organizations did not work out as mass groups supporting Communist discipline and kindling work enthusiasm. The farmers were basically opposed to collectivization, and the Communists, who took over already existing farmers' groups immediately after the war, never succeeded in getting tight control of the leader-

ship in the rural districts. The unions have been disbanded because of their failure to enforce Communist policy, which is a primary role of Communist mass organizations."

### New Paramilitary Club

Radio Prague, April 3, announced that a national congress of a new automobile association had taken place on March 23. The conference was attended by delegates from all districts and representatives from all mass organizations. The speakers were Minister of Transport Antonin Pospisil and Deputy Josef Jura. This new organization replaces the Czechoslovak Automobile Club which was abolished as a "bourgeois institution." According to the commentator, the new League for People's Motorism "will give its members political, sport and military education. [By doing this] and by teaching them to drive cars and tractors, it will contribute to the building of Socialism and the defense power of the country."

### Polish Youth Urged to Join "Peace Struggle"

The following quotations from the Polish Communist press throw light on current activities of several mass organizations in Poland. On April 4, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), announced that a congress of "Young Builders of People's Poland" will take place in Warsaw on July 22. The meeting, which is being organized by the Polish Youth Association, will have an approximate attendance of 200,000 young people from all over the country. In connection with preparations for the Congress, the Central Management of the Polish Youth Association drafted the following appeal, quoted in part below:

"350,000 boys and girls joined industry during the first two years of the Six Year Plan. At present, 550,000 boys and girls are studying in vocational schools. 143,000 boys and girls are studying to become technicians, physicians, agronomists, teachers and artists. . . .

"Who among us has the right to stand aloof from the struggle which is being waged? . . . Who among us is entitled to live in his own isolated shell when two worlds, two powers, two camps are struggling against each other? One of them is a camp of peace, of progress and the liberty of nations, and the other is a world of atomic bombs, of warmongers, American imperialists and their Hitlerite servants. . . . The vile vestiges of capitalism continue to be a handicap and a source of many difficulties. . . . We want to tear out by the roots all that is rotten. . . . Let us all be in the first ranks of the national front in the struggle for peace and the achievement of the Six Year Plan. . . . Young Citizens of the Polish People's Republic, respond to the appeal! Your organization, the Polish Youth Association, [demands your attendance] at the Congress of Young Leaders on July 22 in Warsaw. . . ."

*Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), March 21, published some statistics on the membership in the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association which, under the leadership of Edward Ochab, Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party, has the task of Sovietizing the Polish people:

"As the report on the Wroclaw [annual meeting of

the Association shows], membership in Lower Silesia amounts to more than 361,000 people who are organized in about 5,250 units. In the Opole region, 85,747 new members were admitted during the last eighteen months. At present, this organization numbers some 200,000 members. Membership in the country-side during this period was increased by 178 percent."

### Trade Unions Promote Work Competition

The role of trade unions in Poland as organizations for increasing economic production and mobilizing the masses "against the class enemy" was clearly defined by Victor Klosiewicz at the Eighth Plenum of that organization in December 1951. His speech, published by *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), December 20, is quoted in brief below:

"At the fifth Plenum . . . we emphasized the [Party's] responsibility for mobilizing the masses in production . . . and stressed the leading role of trade unions in promoting work competition. . . . The trade unions should continually explain to the working masses the character and sources of our difficulties . . . and should influence the working peasants through workers who have recently come from the villages. . . . The trade unions should mobilize the masses who are fighting against the class enemies . . . and develop and intensify the workers' participation in the struggle against the economic underground, against speculation and usury. The trade unions should take an active part in the fulfillment of resolutions and government decrees, which have the goal of developing agriculture."

A Polish exile has supplemented these items with the following information:

"The groups described above hardly exhaust the list of organizations of a mass character designed to indoctrinate the Polish community. Paramilitary organizations such as the League of Soldiers' Friends, the League of Women, Service for Poland, and the People's Sports Teams are other groups which fulfill this task. Young people of 16 years of age and over are compelled to join the Service for Poland. The task of this organization is to give them military, physical and vocational training, as well as to indoctrinate them in Communist politics. The organization will also give courses for women this spring in order to train them for work brigades. Similarly, under the Service for Poland's auspices, boys and girls will work on State Farms during the summer."

### Failure of Youth Indoctrination Condemned

The March issue of the Polish Politbureau organ *Nowe Drogi* published an article on the failure of Party agitators to enlist youth in work competitions. The editorial, printed in conjunction with the meeting of the Lodz Committee of the United Polish Workers Party, stressed the importance of political indoctrination of youth:

"The participation of youth in work competitions in Lodz workshops is very low. It amounts to only 34 percent of the total number of participants in work competitions. Especially alarming is the fact that the participation of ZMP members [Associations of Polish Youth] . . . is no greater than that of working youth in general. . . .



"Poor educational work and the lack of attention paid to the needs of young people contributed to this unfortunate situation in work centers. . . . Party organizations ignored these centers and failed to induce trade unions and factory managements to take action. . . . As a result of poor political-educational work, a great many young people are left undirected. This facilitates the work of the enemy, who tries to increase criminality among youth. . . . The foe attempts to distract young people from work and study and tries to turn them against their fatherland. Demoralization of youth, the increase of drunkenness and hooliganism—the propagation of the so-called 'American style of life'—are some of the means used by the enemy to achieve their goals.

"[In conclusion, the author recommends that] each Party member take a real interest in the problems of youth and in their political and educational work. There is no important problem in Poland that can be solved without the participation of youth."

#### **Romanian Youth Trained As Political Commissars**

According to a report from Vienna, agitators from the Romanian Communist youth organization are being trained as political officers in the army:

"Until now the political officers attached to every echelon of the Armed Forces have been army-trained. Most of them attended only a Sergeant's School, but were given the high ranks befitting their function.

"The present policy seems to have a new twist. Only civilians recruited from the Communist youth organization will be trained as Political Commissars in the army, and the military training previously required has been abandoned. In April of last year a special school was opened in Breaza for the purpose of training civilians. 200 pupils attended the course which lasted two months and dealt exclusively with political matters. The students were temporary recruits, and after graduation they returned to civilian life. The graduates receive some kind of retainer as military personnel on unlimited leave, although they have not been granted commissions. It is said that in case of an armed conflict, they will be given the rank of Colonel and will replace the army-trained Political Commissars. The number of young activists to undergo this special training is estimated at 2,000."

#### **"Patriotic" Education for Latvian Youth**

The Ninth Congress of the Latvian Communist youth organization was held in Riga, March 20-21. 600 delegates from all cities and districts attended. Radio Riga, March 25, broadcast a report on the meeting, which dealt mainly with the political indoctrination of students:

"In 1950, at the Eighth Congress of Latvian Communist youth, 71,000 members were listed. Now, almost two years later, there are 98,000 members. Over 98 percent of them attend political courses. It was suggested at the Congress that Party organizational work be improved in universities and high schools for the purpose of strengthening the influence of Communist youth among students. . . . The Congress adopted a resolution making compulsory the education of youth in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in loyalty to the Socialist father-

land and to the Lenin-Stalin Party. . . . Communist youth organizations must educate youth . . . in hatred of Anglo-American imperialists. Party organizations must spare no efforts in disclosing the bestial plans of American imperialism. We must fight the remnants of the capitalist world and bourgeois nationalism."

At the second plenary meeting of the Central Council of the Latvian Communist Party in Riga, March 27-28, political and organizational matters in the city of Liepaja were discussed. In answer to charges of unsatisfactory work, the Liepaja Party secretary announced that a new program of political indoctrination by propaganda workers and mass organizations had been initiated after the Ninth Party Congress. Radio Riga, March 28, broadcast his reply:

"The newly elected secretaries of local Party units were ordered to attend a three-day course. This year, over 5,500 Communists are attending political lectures in Liepaja. Propaganda work is being carried out by 96 propaganda units with 2,200 activists. The Liepaja Communist Youth Organization has 2,808 members. . . . Preparation of cadres has been improved. The Committee has paid great attention to the strengthening of control and the supervision of administration."

#### **Estonian Paramilitary Association**

In Estonia, a paramilitary organization called DOSAAF was established in September 1951, as a combination of three separate organizations for aid to the Army, Navy and Air Force. An exile living in Sweden has given the following report on the organization's aim and activities:

"According to the Secretary General of the Estonian Communist Party, the purpose of the Voluntary Aid Association for the Army, Navy and Air Force [DOSAAF] is to contribute to the power of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces and to imbue its members with a 'spirit of loyalty to the USSR.' DOSAAF members are trained for special tasks in case of war. Young men are trained as snipers, signallers, radio and telephone operators, parachutists, pilots, electricians, and truck drivers. DOSAAF has its own radio club, and manages the nautical club and the Aero Club in Tallinn. The organization has cells in practically every large factory, in kollezhos, schools and offices. Although it is impossible to estimate the number of DOSAAF cells, or the membership, it was announced some time ago that 321 cells with 8,300 members had attended a conference of DOSAAF."

## **II. PARTY AFFAIRS**

Current reports on the Iron Curtain area state that new Kremlin demands have resulted in purges of high-ranking Communist officials and in further efforts to Sovietize Eastern Europe. Other aspects of Party politics within the Satellite area underscore the complexity of Communist affairs, and are described in reports dealing with recent elections, personnel changes, rivalry among top-Communists, and with the importance of increased Party activity in all spheres of national life.

According to reports from Bulgaria, Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov has consolidated his position as a result



of new loyalty pledges made to Stalin during his visit to Moscow in January:

"Chervenkov's recent gain in prestige is noticeable in current issues of the Bulgarian press and is allegedly due to the pledges of fidelity he made to Stalin at the beginning of the year. These guarantees included an agreement to purge certain 'old-time,' high-ranking Communists in Bulgaria by accusing them of failures in the Sovietization of the country. Two prominent victims already purged are Sava Ganovski and Kiril Dramaliev, who were responsible for the education and training of Bulgarian youth. It is said that following these purges, high-ranking civil servants of the 'older generation' will also be purged. Another decision made in Moscow was to give preference to fanatical young Communists within the Central Committee and in government and Party organizations with a view to accelerating the Sovietization of the country. In the future, Marxist-Leninist training will be the personal responsibility of Chervenkov.

"On his return from Moscow, Chervenkov summoned the members of the Central Committee to a secret meeting during which he accused several members of a 'lack of vigilance.' Chervenkov did not mention any names. These threats have created an atmosphere of fear in Communist ranks.

"Although Chervenkov is the No. 1 Communist in Bulgaria, his power is overshadowed by the presence of Soviet General Ivan Mikhailov, who is of Bulgarian origin. Mikhailov is Deputy Prime Minister and the only person Chervenkov consults before making important decisions. Mikhailov is independent of Chervenkov and a great favorite with Moscow."

### Removal of High-Ranking Bulgarians

A Bulgarian emigre who recently escaped reports that Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Chankov heads the list of several high-ranking Party members currently in disgrace:

"Chankov is a fanatical Communist who rose quickly in the ranks of the Party. In his post as Chairman of the Party's Organizational Bureau, he was extremely popular, and in 1950, after having satisfactorily completed certain missions, he was made a Deputy Prime Minister. Chervenkov never appreciated Chankov's collaboration, and when his promotion to a top post was demanded by the Central Committee, Chervenkov merely acquiesced in silence. Since then, he has tried to undermine Chankov's career. The strongest argument against Chankov is that he is not Moscow-trained. Perhaps for this reason, Moscow has finally sided with Chervenkov, and agreed upon Chankov's dismissal. According to the advice allegedly given Chervenkov in Moscow, Chankov is to be demoted and gradually eased out, since as a fanatic Communist, his abrupt dismissal would provoke a disturbance among Party members."

According to information from Vienna, Todor Jivkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, is another leader about to be purged as a result of Chervenkov's visit to Moscow:

"Jivkov is entrusted with the important task of train-

ing responsible Party personnel. The present crisis in Party ranks, particularly among army officers and civil servants, indicates that he has not been successful. The decision to purge Jivkov was made by the Kremlin after Soviet General Ivan Mikhailov complained about the lack of qualified personnel capable of executing government decisions. The General directs the Sovietization of Bulgaria from behind the scenes. Chervenkov, who never liked Jivkov, then blamed him as the person responsible for all failures in this sector. Like Chankov, Jivkov will probably be demoted to a minor post and eliminated gradually."

### Purge in Polish Trade Unions

The Polish *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), March 31, announced that Alexander Burski had been relieved of his post as Assistant Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions at the ninth plenary session of that organization:

"The Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions granted Alexander Burski's request to be relieved of his post as Assistant Chairman of the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] and as a member of the Presidium and the Plenum of the CRZZ. Burski resigned because of poor health. . . .

"The Plenum also granted the requests of Adam Marciniak and Boleslaw Jedynak to be relieved of their positions as members of the CRZZ Plenum. Jozef Knapczak, former Chairman of the Central Board of the Steel Workers Trade Union, and Maria Kasprzak, member of the Presidium of the Central Board of the Health Service Workers Trade Union, have been eliminated from the list of members of the CRZZ Plenum. . . ."

A Polish expert has made this comment on Burski's resignation:

"Even assuming that Burski is in poor health, there is no reason for his dismissal as a member of the CRZZ Plenum. A prolonged absence from this group is of little significance. Therefore, it is probable that, like Gomulka and Sychalski, Burski's 'poor health' is merely the term used to announce his purge. Similar purges have been carried out in provincial Trade Unions. Since January, the Party has been eliminating unreliable members by refusing to nominate them for re-election."

### Report Bierut's Elimination of Rival

A refugee, recently arrived from Poland, has written the following account of a conflict which took place during 1949 and 1950 between President Boleslaw Bierut and Wladyslaw Wolski, then Minister of Public Administration. The report describes Bierut's careful elimination of potential rivals within the Polish Communist Party:

"During 1949 and 1950, Wladyslaw Wolski was a potential rival of Bierut. Wolski became a member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party in December, 1948, and was appointed Minister for Public Administration in January 1949. His wife, Celina Norymberska, is the daughter of a distinguished Russian Communist. At that time, as editor of the Central Commit-

tee's newspaper, *Nowe Drogi*, she was a great help to Wolski in his career. Since Bierut considered this husband and wife team inimical to him, he tried to destroy Wolski's power. Upon Bierut's suggestion, Wolski got the job of negotiating an agreement with the Catholic Church. Wolski signed for the government, and Franciszek Mazur signed for the Polish Parliament. Once Wolski's signature was on the agreement, Bierut started a campaign of his own within the Party to discredit Wolski. He accused Wolski of making too many concessions to the Catholic Church and of having deviated from the Party line. Mazur feigned indignation and demanded a Party trial. A Party jury was then composed of members of the Central Committee. During the trial, Bierut abused Wolski, and in anger, Wolski demanded that the 'provocateur who gave me the job leave the room so that the trial can be conducted fairly.' The jury reprimanded Wolski and naturally refused to grant his request. Instead, Wolski was fired from his post as Minister for Public Administration and deprived of all influence in the Party. Mazur was well rewarded for his participation in this 'conspiracy.' He received the post of Party Secretary. Wolski's wife lost her job as editor and was replaced by Franciszek Fiedler."

In a broadcast on April 14, Radio Bucharest announced that Matei Socor, Chairman of the Romanian Radio Committee, had been relieved of his position and appointed to the nominal post of Academician of the RPR. He was replaced by Mihail Rosianu, former Chairman of the Cultural Committee and deputy member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. An expert has said that the appointment of a man closely connected with the Central Committee of the Party is an attempt to exercise closer supervision of the propaganda broadcast by the regime.

### Czechoslovak Officials Dismissed

In Czechoslovakia, the continued purge of government personnel is said to have resulted in the removal of Stanislav Baudys and Antonin Bina from their posts as Deputy Ministers of National Security. Their former chief, Ladislav Kopriva, was relieved of his post in January, allegedly at his own request. An exile has reported that Baudys is an "old-time" Communist who fought in the Spanish Civil War: "He became a member of Parliament in 1951. Bina was appointed a Deputy Minister at the Cabinet meeting of April 24, 1951. Both men have been liquidated because of their connection with the former Minister."

Other reports claim that Evzen Erban, Chairman of the State Commission for Social Security, has been placed under police surveillance. The official reason given for this measure is that the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service learned that Erban's brother, who is travelling in Germany and Sweden, is known to have said that he was "expecting Evzen in exile any day."

### Continued Condemnation of Slansky

District Party Conferences were held throughout Czechoslovakia, March 15-31. According to press reports, the

main purpose of the meetings was to stress "the dangerous effects of Slansky's activities and to destroy the seeds of his influence." *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 22, described the conference in the District of Caslav:

"[At the conference in Caslav] the detestable activities of Slansky and other conspirators were unanimously condemned. Even the district of Caslav was affected by the influence of the vicious gang. . . . A group of people from this district . . . prevented the district committee and Party organizations from fulfilling important Party tasks. False working methods introduced by Slansky and Company were adopted. For example, in Chotusice, the largest community of the district, one of the officials had advised the Communists in February, 1948, to prevent honest citizens from purging subversive and reactionary elements. . . . The wealthy farmers [also] did not remain idle. . . . From their hiding places, they kindled mistrust of the cooperatives and the Party. . . . Our Comrades in Chotusice . . . authorized their delegate to discuss this matter. The delegate did not speak up, however. Not even the secretary [of the local Communist organization] discussed the results of the subversive activities of the Slansky gang in Party work. And this was one of the most important tasks of the conference. . . . Comrade Gottwald . . . has said . . . that it is a mistake to assume that the struggle against the enemy ended with the arrest of Slansky and his associates. . . . Ignorance of Communist doctrine . . . damages the Party and must be fought constantly and with all means. . . ."

In order to strengthen discipline among Czechoslovak railroad employees, the Political Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee has passed a resolution to establish Party Junction Committees at all important railroad centers. The resolution, quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 9, said:

"The main task of Party organizations at railroad [junctions] is to effectively mobilize Communists and through them, by means of mass organizations, all railroad employees. This will ensure fulfillment of Party and government resolutions in regard to strengthening Party discipline.

"On the railroads, Communists and other railroad employees have the chance of winning over the loyalty of many people every day. They can disclose and suppress slander and subversive propaganda of the class enemy. They can protect the interests of the Party and the State. . . . Until now, railroad employees have remained in the background instead of explaining Party policy."

### President of Latvian Supreme Soviet Resigns

Radio Riga, April 11, made public the resignation of the President of the Supreme Soviet Council of Latvia:

" . . . Professor Kirchensteins has sent in his resignation because of ill health, old age, and his duties at the Academy of Science of Soviet Latvia. Kirchensteins is Vice-President of the Academy of Science and director of the Microbiological Institute. His resignation has been supported by Prime Minister Vilis Lacis who . . . expressed his appreciation of Professor Kirchensteins' work in the Supreme Council and wished him . . . success in

his scientific work for our Socialist Fatherland. . . . Upon the proposal of Prime Minister Lacis, the Council has nominated Deputy Ozolins to succeed Professor Kirchensteins."

An exile who knew Kirchensteins has provided the following information on his career:

"Kirchensteins was born in Latvia in 1872. After the 1905 revolution, he went to Switzerland where he came in contact with many Marxists. He returned to Latvia in 1917, and after the Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1940, was appointed Prime Minister. Later, when Lacis replaced him, he became President of the Supreme Council. In 1941, Kirchensteins was officially admitted to the Communist Party. It is possible that he was forced to resign from his post as a result of the Kremlin's policy of removing all 'nationalist' elements from Latvian leadership. Ozolins, the new appointee, has been the editor of the Party organ, *Cina*, and is well-known as an obedient Moscow servant."

### Estonian Minister Changed

The Estonian *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), March 5, announced that "the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR has dismissed Comrade Pavel Kalju as Minister of Health and appointed August Goldberg to the post." An Estonian living in Sweden has made the following comment on this change:

"Kalju and Goldberg are both Estonians from Russia. Until this appointment Goldberg has not occupied an important public post. Kalju was secretary of the Communist Party organization at Tartu University in 1949. He was named secretary of the Tartu Communist Party Committee in January 1950, and appointed Minister of Health on June 26, 1950. Later that year he was awarded the order of the 'Red Banner of Labor.' It is not known whether he has been purged or appointed to some other post. Kalju's predecessor, Viktor Hion, was an 'old-time' Communist who was exiled from the capital in 1939 by the Estonian authorities because of his activities against the 'bourgeois nationalists.' He was purged by the Communists, however, ostensibly because of his 'bourgeois nationalist' activities."

### "Unanimous" Estonian Election

Estonia's Radio Tallinn, March 23 and April 1, reported the election of Artur Soolau to the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR. The turnout was described in glowing terms:

"Today, in the 76th electoral district of the Polva region, the election of the representative to the Estonian SSR Supreme Council was held amid great enthusiasm. Before six o'clock in the morning, voters had lined up at the polls to elect Comrade Soolau, candidate of the Communist bloc and the non-Party voters. By 10:20 this morning 100 percent of the voters from the entire electoral district had cast their vote. . . ."

The unanimous election was lauded on April 2 at the

opening session of the Supreme Council: "... Representative Promet announced that 100 percent of the voters had taken part in the election. . . . The candidate was elected unanimously."

## III. LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS

News on legislation in the East European area supplements previous information on the use of Soviet methods in Satellite institutions. Most of the items printed below reveal the distortion of jurisprudence into an instrument of Party policy. These tendencies appear strikingly in a Bulgarian report dealing with the functions of the Ministry of Justice and in a definition of "Socialist legality" culled from the Hungarian press. Articles dealing with correctional labor in Poland, State care of minors in Hungary, lawyers' collectives in Bulgaria, and constitutional changes in various parts of the Soviet orbit also serve to illustrate the steady emphasis on these objectives.

### Stress on "Socialist Legality"

In Hungary, recent issues of the Budapest *Jogtudományi Kozlony* (Legal Review) have devoted a great deal of space to the theory and practice of "Socialist legality." According to the bulletin, "Socialist legality" refers not only to Soviet principles of legislation, legislative procedure and Communist laws, but also to the concrete application of these laws. Moreover, "Socialist legality expresses the policy of the Party . . . and promotes the realization of this policy. Its actual contents are determined by Party policy."

In connection with this, an Hungarian legal expert has stressed the fact that "Socialist legality" implicitly provides for the annulment of constitutional rights if these conflict with any Party policy:

"Since the Party's current objectives are to liquidate unreliable elements and to tighten labor discipline, any act or decree which implements these policies, regardless of whether or not it violates human rights, is lawful according to the theory of 'Socialist legality.' At present, all members of the middle class are considered enemies of the regime. A few years ago if a member of the middle class took a factory job, he was no longer persecuted. A recent resolution by the Council of Principles, which has the power to annul verdicts of the Supreme Court, has ruled otherwise. According to this decision, a member of the middle class is to be regarded as 'socially dangerous' even if he is employed in 'Socialist work.' This resolution was adopted in connection with a recent trial of a former officer, who was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. In passing a verdict, the Supreme Court considered that his working in a factory was an extenuating circumstance. After reviewing the decision, the Council of Principles ruled as follows: 'The defendant, a member of the overthrown ruling class, has not ceased to be socially dangerous because, having lost an important enemy position, he is compelled to perform manual labor in order to support his family.'



### Dancing "American Style" Criminal

"Another example of 'Socialist legality' is the recent law providing for government expropriation of homes, despite the fact that 'protection of property acquired by work' is guaranteed by the Constitution.

"Since the migration of workers has become a major problem damaging State discipline, the regime has also inflicted severe punishment on workers who quit their jobs, although there is no decree ruling this a crime. The Supreme Court, for example, recently sentenced two workers to two years of imprisonment for leaving their jobs. In seeking a precedent for this decision, the Court referred to an Act of 1950 as the basis for prosecution. The Act cited actually makes no mention of such a legal offense. This method of finding a 'legal basis' for punishment is a typical example of 'Socialist legality.' Similarly, a youth of 19 was recently sent to jail for three months for having given an exhibition of 'imperialist American dances.' As yet, there is no decree in Hungary making this a crime.

"Observance of the principles of 'Socialist legality' naturally prohibits any impartial investigation of differences arising between the State and the individual. It is a crime for an individual in a Communist country to have any differences with the State, even in cases pertaining to civil law. The principles of 'Socialist legality' also prohibit the passing of laws conflicting with government policy, even if they would serve public welfare. Likewise, any legal interpretation that deviates from the principles of 'Socialist legality' is forbidden. And finally, the development of judicial practice is impossible in terms of 'Socialist legality' since a judge has the right only to apply but not to interpret laws."

### State Care of Minors Ruled

Announcing a further development in "Socialist legality," *Magyar Kozlony* (Budapest), February 9, published a new decree providing for State care of minors. The provisions read as follows:

"The Hungarian People's Republic will place under State care . . . children whose parents or other relatives responsible for their support are dead or living in unknown areas, or who, for other reasons, are unable to take care of them. . . .

"Whenever statutes mention a declaration of abandonment or refer to children pronounced abandoned, this shall [henceforth] be interpreted as meaning [that the minor involved] is under State care.

"If it is deemed necessary for material, moral or sanitary reasons, the State Guardianship Office may declare as State wards minors between 15 and 18 years of age. In special cases, the Guardianship Office may prolong the period of State care until the ward has terminated his studies even though he is over 18 years of age."

An exiled Hungarian lawyer has pointed out the effect the decree may have on labor supplies and on the youth organizations:

"The above decree is closely connected with the government's effort to control and secure manpower. This is especially clear in the provision dealing with minors

between 15 and 18 years of age. The maintenance and education of children under that age is expensive and unprofitable to the regime. Minors of 15 and over can be given pre-military training or can be sent to work in factories and mines. Naturally, whenever it suits the regime's purposes, moral, material and sanitary reasons can be found for declaring a minor a State ward. If the government found it convenient, religious education could be considered a 'moral' reason for taking over the guardianship of a child. By having the power to deprive parents of their children, the State is not only able to supplement its labor forces but also can frighten parents into fulfilling Communist demands. In preference to parting with their children most parents would have them enroll in youth organizations or other Communist groups."

### Sovietization of Bulgarian Courts

According to the newspaper *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), March 27, the Sovietization of Bulgarian courts will facilitate their task of "defending the achievements of Socialism":

"On February 26, the Ministerial Council passed an important decree on the work of the Ministry of Justice. This decree states that 'the judiciary fulfills an important function in our People's Republic. It defends the achievements of September 9, 1944 and the People's Democratic Regime.'

"The people's courts oppose anyone who openly or secretly hinders the building of Socialism and anyone who sabotages the enterprises of the People's Republic. The courts actively participate in the struggle to liquidate all members of the class enemy . . . and apply severe penalties for subversive activities. . . . The carrying out of this decree, which is based on Soviet experience, will bring about the final reconstruction of our courts and a thorough change in work methods. The decree provides for the establishment of a unified juridical system . . . based on the Soviet pattern, which will include both public and special courts. Public courts include county courts and supreme courts. Special courts include military courts and transportation and communications courts. The decree obliges the Ministry of Justice and the courts to apply Soviet work methods."

### Lawyers' Cooperatives Control Profession

More specific information about legal procedure in Bulgaria is contained in the following report on lawyers' cooperatives:

"After the Communist coup, lawyers' cooperatives were formed throughout Bulgaria and 'unreliable elements' were eliminated from the profession. Only members of the cooperatives are allowed to practice. Each cooperative has as its administrator a secretary, who may or may not be a member of the profession. No lawyer may take a case on his own, but must receive his assignment from the secretary, who interviews prospective clients. A citizen has the right to choose his lawyer, but must pay his fees to the secretary who distributes it among collective members. Lawyers who are in popular demand receive



a larger share of the fees than those who are usually assigned without being specially requested.

"Each town has a lawyers' council, composed of the town's most prominent Communist lawyers. The council is the administrative body of the lawyers' cooperative and is controlled by a Supreme Council in Sofia. This Council numbers 20 delegates from the various town councils. A lawyers' directorate acts as a liaison body between the Supreme Council and the Ministry of Justice.

"Lawyers naturally have a greater amount of freedom in civil trials than in political trials. In the latter, lawyers for the defense receive their instructions directly from the Communist Party or the Militia. The defendants arrive in court with complete written confessions, and the Attorney for the Defense may confer with the accused only after he has been indicted. The defendant's confession is used as proof of his guilt until the contrary has been proved. Any attempt to question its veracity is risky. No lawyer may even hint that the defendant's confession has been extorted by means of violence. In short, in political cases, the Attorney for the Defense is powerless to do more than ask for clemency towards his client, even if he is convinced of the man's innocence."

## Passports Necessary in Bulgaria

The Bulgarian newspaper *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), April 2, announced that in the future every Bulgarian citizen will be obliged to carry a passport. This decree, augmenting police control, was described as follows:

"... Individual passports are being introduced as documents to establish the identity of citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and will be issued by the Ministry of Interior. A passport will be valid either for an unlimited period of time or for five years. All citizens over 16 years of age will be obliged to carry passports. The conditions under which passports will be issued are detailed in a regulation prepared for this purpose."

## Decree Establishes Penalties of Correctional Labor

In Poland, a new law establishing penalties of correctional labor has been in effect since April 1. Originally published in the *Journal of Law* (Warsaw), December 29, 1951, the law grants police courts the right to substitute sentences of correctional labor for prison sentences up to three months. As one observer has commented, this law will serve as an additional political weapon for fighting non-Communist elements. Some of the more important provisions read as follows:

"Instead of a sentence of imprisonment, a sentence of correctional labor should henceforth be imposed. One day of correctional labor is to be accepted as equivalent to one day of imprisonment.

"The shortest term of correctional labor is to be one day; the longest, three months. The combined penalty of correctional labor and a fine is forbidden. The lowest fine will be three *zlotys*; the highest, 3,000 *zlotys*. . . . The penalty of correctional labor is to be administered without depriving the guilty person of his liberty. Twenty

percent of the salary granted for work performed by the guilty during his term of correctional labor is to be deducted for the State.

"Persons employed in establishments of Socialized economy, in the State administration, State institutions, or in other State or Socialized establishments, must perform their correctional labor in their place of employment. Other persons will perform their correctional labor in the place designated by the particular Presidium of the National Council executing the sentence. A Presidium of the National Council can assign the condemned to non-salaried work. One day of gratuitous work is equal to three to five days of correctional salaried work.

"When administering punishments, the social harmfulness of a deed and the degree of the perpetrator's guilt, as well as his present behavior and social, personal and material status should be taken into account. . . . The condemned and the public prosecutor have the right to appeal verdicts and penal sentences to the administrative court of next highest rank attached to the Presidium of the National Council involved.

"In case of widespread occurrences of deeds punishable by . . . the law in question, an accelerated legal procedure can be applied for periods up to but not exceeding six months."

## Law to Strengthen National Committees

Czechoslovakia's *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 28, published a parliamentary speech by Deputy Prime Minister Zdenek Fierlinger on a new law which is being prepared to strengthen national committees, mainly because of their failure in mass activities. Fierlinger's speech, quoted in part below, seems to indicate that recent changes affecting the organization of national committees have not been entirely successful:

"National committees still have not solved the problem of establishing contacts with the broad masses of the people. . . . There are no regular plenary meetings of district and regional committees. . . . They have no contact with the councils of national committees; they have no political life and have failed to guide the work of the councils. The same applies to the various commissions. These shortcomings we intend to eliminate by passing a new law. . . . We will see to it that the ministries will not regard the national committees only as extensions of their own power in districts and regions, but as constitutional organs of State power."

Fierlinger also said that the judicial framework within the People's Administration would be made to conform more closely to the Soviet system:

"... At a suitable time we intend to introduce the direct election of judges by the people. Thus our judicial system will resemble even more the great judicial system of the USSR. The office of Public Prosecutor will also undergo reorganization, and the various departments under its supervision will be centralized, although at the same time, contact with the people will be maintained."

## Communist Constitutions

In the light of current rumors about a new Czechoslovak Constitution, a Czechoslovak expert has contrasted the

Polish Draft Constitution of January, 1952, with the present Czechoslovak Constitution of May, 1948. According to the writer, the two charters express different stages in Socialist development:

"A comparison between certain aspects of the Czechoslovak and Polish Constitutions clearly shows the 'obsolescence' of the former. The Czechoslovak Constitution guarantees individual freedom for all citizens, and states that everyone is equal before the law. The new Polish Draft Constitution stipulates that the 'laws of the Polish People's Republic are the expression of the working people's will and interests. . . . The Polish People's Republic suppresses and liquidates those social classes which live by the exploitation of workers and peasants.'

"Another basic difference between the two charters is in their concept of nationalism. The Czechoslovak Constitution emphasizes the fact that the 'Czechoslovak Republic is a united State composed of two equal Slav nations: the Czechs and the Slovaks. . . .' The new Polish Draft Constitution places less emphasis on the national composition of the State than on the international solidarity of the working class. This is clear in the provision stating that 'the citizens of the Polish Republic, regardless of nationality, race or religion, have equal rights' in all sectors of national life. This phrase has greater meaning in the light of the preamble which says that 'The basis of the people's power in Poland is the union of the working class with the working peasantry. In this union, the leading role is played by the working class, which relies on the revolutionary achievements of the Polish and International Workers Movement and on the historical experiences of the victorious development of Socialism in the USSR. . . .'

"The most important difference between the two Constitutions emerges in the sections dealing with governmental and executive power. The Czechoslovak Constitution states that the President of the Republic is the chief representative of the State. In the Polish Constitution, the 15 member State Council is actually the highest State organ and the repository of executive power. This arrangement is comparable to the Soviet Constitution, where the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is the highest State organ, embodying all State powers. The balance of power among the executive, legislative and judiciary branches has been replaced by the principle of 'democratic centralism.'

"In contrast to Western Constitutions, Communist Constitutions are not long term, or permanent, charters summarizing the structure of a State. According to the present Czechoslovak Constitution, they provide for development into a Socialist State: 'We, a People's Democracy, are a State with a government changing to Socialism. Therefore, the new Constitution must express the main tendencies of this development. . . . The Constitution is not only a legal basis for present-day conditions, but also the framework for the smooth realization of the main tendency of development. . . . [This tendency] is towards Socialism.'

"Communist Constitutions are not only milestones on the road to Socialism, but, as evidenced by the new Polish Draft Constitution, documents providing for the absorption of the Peoples' Democracies into the Soviet Union."

Romania's Agerpress, March 27, reported on proposed constitutional changes. From the commentator's summary, however, it is not clear if a new Constitution or merely constitutional amendments are being considered:

"In the Thursday session of the National Assembly, P. Groza introduced a bill for the modification of Article 61 of the Constitution. . . . Gheorghiu-Dej then submitted for endorsement the directives of the Assembly for the elaboration of a draft of the new Romanian Constitution. The directives have been unanimously and enthusiastically approved by the National Assembly. A Drafting Commission, headed by Gheorghiu-Dej, was then elected. . . ."

Refugees in Sweden have reported that the Estonian Constitution will be amended in reference to government supervision of cinemas:

"According to an order issued by the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR on April 3, paragraph 66 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR will be changed to the effect that all the executive committees in the towns and regions must organize a special film department.

"In view of the fact that most regions do not contain a movie theater, but circulate one film among the several kolkhozes in the area, this order seems a bit ridiculous and testifies to the excessive bureaucracy in Communist countries."

#### IV. THE POLICE SYSTEM

Powerful police organizations have proved mainstays of Communist power. Patterned on the Soviet MVD, State security organs in Eastern Europe are responsible for ensuring the fulfillment of Communist policy and for suppressing all "anti-State activities." In establishing nationwide networks of informers, police officials force recalcitrant citizens to become spies for the State and enemies of their friends. The following reports by political exiles familiar with the system describe the elaborate organization and terroristic methods of the police throughout the Satellite area.

"The State Defense Authority is the only administrative organ which was immediately taken over by our Party and in which any division or coalitional ratio was excluded. Although the enemy managed to infiltrate it to a certain extent, we nevertheless had this institution firmly under control right from the start. . . ." (See page 46.) This statement implying that the secret police is the most important organ sustaining Communist power was made by Secretary General of the Hungarian's Worker's Party Matyas Rakosi in the March issue of the Budapest review *Tarsadalmi Szemle*. The following analysis of the State Defense Authority's role as a main prop of Communist authority was written by an Hungarian exile who is intimately acquainted with the organization's internal setup:

"The State Defense Authority functions as an independent ministry and receives instructions from the Moscow MVD. Patterned on its Soviet counterpart, the

SDA attempts to terrorize every citizen, to create an atmosphere of fear, and to recruit innumerable informers throughout the country. It is, for the most part, an extensive spy organization.

"One division of the SDA has the task of controlling all internal-political events. This is achieved by assigning informers to every Party and political group in Hungary. Another department keeps all aliens, foreign business men and other foreign personnel under observation. A so-called clerical section sends its agents into church organizations. Spies are even installed in congregations and take notes on the religious sermons. A third subdivision has the task of Bolshevizing youth organizations. Another department is in charge of spying on and infiltrating social organizations. The most treasured secret files of the SDA are guarded by this division. These files contain the names of all prominent politicians, important society people, top-level State officials and Party functionaries. A photographic laboratory is attached to this section and all incriminating pictures are prepared in advance as 'evidence' against police victims. Intercepting conversations by means of microphones is another task of this department, which works in close collaboration with a division for examining witnesses.

### Police Agents Spy on All National Groups

"A sixth subdivision has agents spying on former high-ranking officers, State employees and members of the upper middle class. And another department has agents in every government ministry. These spies send in reports on all State activities.

"A special department exists for trailing suspects and persons wanted by other branches of the SDA. Agents follow these people continually and record their activities in police files.

"A division for passports has been under the jurisdiction of the SDA since 1946. Previously, passports were issued by the police. By controlling the issuance of this document, the secret police can force people into espionage activities.

"A department in charge of official registration keeps files on former members of so-called right-wing parties, and of the Volksbund and Arrowcross movements. Another subdivision has the special task of sending spies into plants, factories and banks. SDA agents infiltrate the board of directors in each of these institutions.

"A section concerned with administration and personnel has the power to dismiss or hire SDA agents. The official in charge of disciplinary matters is assigned to this subdivision, and detectives under his supervision spy on other SDA employees. Another department supplies body guards for important government officials, and finally, there is a department for integrating all SDA groups in the Greater Budapest area. Local groups are not vested with the power of arrest, but must report to a central division where this information is evaluated. The SDA functions in every county in Hungary and the network of informers encompasses the entire nation."

### Citizens Forced to Serve as Spies

The report describes the Hungarian State Defense Au-

thority's various methods of forcing the rank and file to become informers for the State:

"Besides using voluntary informers, who for one reason or another sign declarations of their willingness to undertake certain assignments, the regime continually recruits agents by methods of pressure. All prostitutes and homosexuals must register with the Police and are usually forced to act as stool pigeons. Former members of the Volksbund or the Arrowcross Party are threatened with deportation unless they become SDA agents. Workers and employees may be hired only through the trade unions which send names of applicants to the SDA. Those whom the SDA wants as informers are given the alternative of unemployment or espionage.

"Several thousand people are under police surveillance. If one of these suspects agrees to become an SDA spy, he is released from the obligation of reporting regularly to the police. Similarly, the regime is often lenient in cases of corruption, since it is more profitable to use the delinquent as an informer. People who have committed crimes against the 'economic welfare' of the State are also enlisted by SDA officials. Rather than face prosecution, most of these men agree to become spies. Sometimes victims are told that they are wanted by the Soviet authorities. As an alternative to this, they are offered the chance of working for Hungarian Communist espionage. Naturally the victim chooses the latter.

"The treatment of prisoners in Hungary conforms to Soviet methods. Prisoners are given drugs such as actadron and morphine and their physical and mental resistance is completely worn down until they are unable to deny the charges of the regime. In complicated cases, prisoners are sent to the Soviet Union and are rarely heard from afterwards. The methods of the police and the omnipresence of informers terrify the masses of the people. By using such means, the Communists succeed in enhancing their power."

### Structure of Security in Poland

The following exile study gives a similar account of the police system in Poland. Coordinated under the Ministry of Public Security, Communist police agents penetrate almost every sphere of national life:

"The Ministry of Public Security is divided into provincial, city and district Security Bureaus [UB]. The employees include uniformed UB guard units and prison guards, office personnel, plainclothes investigators and informers. Many of the latter are recruited under pressure. The Internal Security Corps [KBW], one of the main departments of the Ministry, is divided into mobile units whose task is to control popular outbreaks. The officers are exclusively Communist Party members and there is a high percentage of Russians among them. Lower ranks are recruited mainly from among the peasantry and must undergo intensive political indoctrination. There are signs of growing dissatisfaction among the KBW's rank and file because of the omnipotence of the political-educational officers and the system of persistent spying within the Corps.

"Provincial UBs are divided into administrative and security divisions. The security division is subdivided into seven departments. A political department keeps



track of political parties and people who formerly belonged to groups such as the anti-Nazi underground. It deals with all specific political problems. A department on German questions keeps files, which belonged to the Gestapo, on Germans and Nazis in Poland. An operational department 'observes undesirable public manifestations,' and arrests suspects by order of the political department. Employees of the department are mainly junior officers and a number of enlisted men. After the operational department arrests a victim, he is handed over to an investigation department whose penal branch deals with all matters of military jurisdiction. All political cases come under this category. Even cases of theft fall under military jurisdiction if the crime is deemed harmful to the 'reconstruction efforts of the State.' Officers of the department not only investigate but also assist at trials and must be present at executions. An officer's presence naturally intimidates a witness and makes it difficult for him to withdraw his evidence.

"Another department is in charge of prisons and forced labor camps. All prisons are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Security rather than under the Ministry of Justice. Besides regular prisons, each UB has its own prison in which victims are usually kept for an indefinite period of time.

"A department for industrial protection sends an inspector to every industrial enterprise. This under-cover man organizes a network of informers among the employees. He works in close collaboration with the Party secretary in the plant. And finally, an arms department deals with fire-arm permits and other matters of this kind.

"In each provincial UB there are Soviet instructors from the MWB who advise and train Polish officers. They do not interfere in the actual work of the Communist police and their role is a supervisory one. By means of dividing authority under the Ministry of Public Security, it is practically impossible for a prisoner to succeed in bribery. The police in Poland has become a strictly impersonal machine, serving the Communist Party."

### Police Terror in Bulgaria

In Bulgaria, as elsewhere, the police, organized primarily under the Ministry of Interior, demand the "cooperation" of the masses in carrying out spying activities. According to several experts, the present number of official police personnel is four times greater than before the Communist coup:

"After the end of World War II, the Communists in all countries behind the Iron Curtain insisted that the police forces be placed directly or indirectly under their control. Their demands came as a result of instructions from the Moscow Politburo. In their negotiations with remaining political parties, Bulgarian Communists insisted on control of the Ministry of Interior [the Police]. A salient characteristic of this control is that the masses are forced to 'cooperate' with the police. Thus, article three of the People's Militia law stipulates that 'in carrying out its tasks, the People's Militia can employ the services of civilians.' In other words, every Bulgarian

citizen can be recruited as a Communist informer against persons with whom he is in contact, and must report on their activities to the authorities. If a citizen refuses to assist the Militia, he is confined for at least six months in a labor camp.

"In order to encourage cooperation with the police, the State Security Department publicizes the slogan 'Revolutionary vigilance is the duty of every patriot.' This vigilance is carried out mainly by organs of the State Security through a staff of police experts who work in collaboration with informers. In order to determine the loyalty of a suspect, the State Security uses various methods. The most common one is assigning an agent-provocateur to 'reveal an anti-State secret' to the person whose loyalty is in question. If, within a period of about 24 hours, the person does not inform the police about this 'secret' and fails to report the name of the agent-provocateur, he is declared an enemy of the people's regime. Usually, he is deprived of his ration cards for about a month. If he repeats the same offense, he is sent to a labor camp. In similar cases, where prominent persons are involved, they run the risk of being framed in political trials.

"In policing the Bulgarian people, the Party is aided by a large staff. Prior to the Communist seizure of power there were only 25,000 persons employed as police agents throughout the country. At the present time, the State Security and the People's Militia alone number some 70,000 employees. If to this number is added 35,000 frontier militia guards, the total number of the Bulgarian Communist police amounts to 105,000 persons. The Department of the People's Militia, the Frontier Police and the State Security are organized under the Ministry of Interior. The State Control Commission and the Bulgarian Communist Party also have a large number of informers working for them, but the number of these is unknown."

### Anti-State Activities Probed

The emigre report printed below outlines the main tasks of the Czechoslovak State Security Police:

"The main duty of the State Security [STB] is to investigate all anti-State activities. Besides this, the State Security is in charge of organizing deportations from border regions to the interior of the country, of training and instructing spies for duty in foreign countries, of recruiting suitable material for these services and of organizing and maintaining a system of informers. The STB keeps special secret files on all citizens with respect to their careers, their activities and their reliability. The power and influence of the STB have steadily grown as the continuous purges within the Communist Party and State administration succeed in intensifying the distrust between the highest functionaries of the regime and the State machinery. The STB has agents in all State organs, spying even on Ministers. Informers are also sent to plants, mines, schools, and to prisons and labor camps.

"The methods of the STB are demonstrated by the following story of a political refugee from Southern Moravia, who, after having been recruited as an informer, decided to leave the country in December 1950. This refugee was falsely accused of setting fire to the farm of



the chairman of the local agricultural collective. When detained by the district court, he was interrogated by three young STB officials, who after trying to extort a confession from him, promised to set him free if he agreed to act as an informer. He was told to find out which citizens listened to foreign broadcasts or planned to escape from the country. It was arranged that an STB agent would come to see him every Thursday eve-

ning at about eight o'clock to collect information. The agent would make himself known by giving a certain password. A few days after the man was released, two of the interrogating officials called on him and ordered him to report within three days on the plans of three persons suspected of trying to escape to Austria. Instead of passing on any information, the involuntary spy himself decided to escape."

# Soviet-Bound Economy

## I. THE NEW STATE BUDGETS

The new, approved annual budgets of the Communist-dominated countries of Eastern Europe\* are chiefly distinguished by their over-simplification. What the public is allowed to read for itself most often appears in the form of published statements containing only the major sources of income and expected expenditures, and distorting such factors as increased military expenditures and higher taxation. The use of percentages based on unreleased figures is a favorite device used to disguise the exploitive nature of Soviet-oriented economics.

### Bulgaria

*Isvestia* of the Presidium of the National Assembly, December 28, 1951, published the Budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for this year, which was approved by the Assembly on December 20, 1951. According to the Law, the unified budget for 1952 of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is approved as follows:

Revenue — 370,146,356,000 leva\*\*; Expenditures — 343,946,356,000 leva; Excedent of the Revenue over the expenditures—26,200,000,000 leva.

Kiril Lazarov, Minister of Finance, announced in *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), February 11, 1951, that the revenue in 1951 and 1952 is expected to come from the following sources:

Sources	1951	1952	Difference
	(in billion leva)		
From turnover (sales) tax	139.1	176.2	+37.1
Discounts from the profits of the nationalized enterprises	43.5	66.0	+22.5
Income tax	23.2	24.7	+ 1.5
State loans	14.0	11.4	— 2.6
Surplus of working capital	3.6	11.0	+ 7.4
Revenue from the M.T. Stations	10.0	10.4	+ 0.4
Unidentified revenue	68.0	70.4	+ 2.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>301.4</b>	<b>370.1</b>	<b>+68.8</b>

\* Hungary has revealed no data on the special budgets of certain Ministries and Departments. According to a statement in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 20 and 21: "The revenues of the 1952 Budget will amount to 42,599,700,000 forints, and the expenditures to 42,314,200,000 forints; thus the balance of the Budget shows an excess of 285,500,000 forints."

\*\* The official dollar-leva exchange is 1:290.

In the same statement the following information about the expenditures for 1952 appeared:

	billion leva	percent of the budget
National Economy	180.8	52.6
Social and Cultural Expenses	77.5	22.5
National Defense	40.0	11.6
Government expenses	15.3	4.5
People's Councils subsidy	19.3	5.6
Unidentified expenditures	11.0	3.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>344.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	billion leva	percent of the budget

According to Finance Minister Lazarov, the "National Economy" expenses are reduced as follows:

<i>National Economy</i>	
New Investments	82.5 billion leva
Complementary investments	9.0 billion leva
Additional working capital for the nationalized enterprises	1.9 billion leva
Additional working capital for the People's Councils enterprises	9.4 billion leva
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>102.8 billion leva</b>

An exiled Bulgarian economist has drawn the following conclusions:

"In his statement, the Minister of Finance does not give any information about the destination of 78 billion leva which are provided for the National Economy budget, but which are not included in the above detailed expenses. On the other hand, the provisions for 'new investments' call for 96 billion leva instead of the 82.5 allocated. This difference of 13.5 billion leva will be supplied through 'voluntary labor' brigades and by the prisoners and inmates of concentration camps (slave labor)."

<i>Social and Cultural expenses</i>	
Social Security Fund	40.2 billion leva
Education, Science, Art	35.8 billion leva
Physical education, sports	1.5 billion leva
Training cadres for Cooperative farming	1.3 billion leva
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>78.8 billion leva</b>

"Here one notices another discrepancy between the provision of 77.5 billion *leva* and the expected expenses of 78.8 billion *leva*—an expected deficit of 1.3 billion *leva*.

"The anticipated revenue from the turnover (sales) tax is questionable. During previous years, the revenue from this tax has been:

For 1949	57.0 billion <i>leva</i>
For 1950	67.4 billion <i>leva</i>
For 1951 (first three quarters)	49.3 billion <i>leva</i>

"If 20 billion more *leva* have been collected during the last quarter of 1951, the total for 1951 will be about 70 billion *leva*. It is highly improbable that the revenue from this tax could jump suddenly by more than 100 billion *leva* in a single year—an increase of over 150 percent.

"The expected revenue from the profits of the nationalized enterprises is also doubtful. *Rabotnichesko Delo*, December 28, 1951, quoted the Minister of Industry, Anton Yugov, as declaring that industrial profits have been:

In 1948	7.1 billion <i>leva</i>
1949	13.0 billion <i>leva</i>
1950	16.9 billion <i>leva</i>
(Expected)	
1951	31.6 billion <i>leva</i>
1952	48.0 billion <i>leva</i>

"Even if one accepts the probability that the profits of industry will increase in 1951 by almost 100 percent (16.9 to 31.6 billions) and by 200 percent this year (6.9 to 48.0 billions), it is impossible to 'deduct' the expected 66 billion *leva* out of the realized 48 billion *leva* profits, as contained in Article 3 of the budget.

"Finally, the source of the 'unidentified' revenue of 70.4 billion *leva* included in the last paragraph, is not mentioned in any of the statements and speeches made by members of the government. It is possible that the government expects to cover this sum either by loans from the National Bank, or through some special financial move, such as a compulsory internal loan or a new monetary reform.

"As it stands, the budget for this year is over and above the possibilities of the nation. After seven years of the Communist regime, no capital or enterprise remains to be nationalized. With a population of seven million, the expected revenue of 370 billion *leva* represents a financial burden of 53,000 *leva per capita* in direct and/or indirect taxes. Since the average salary of a worker is 10 to 12 thousand *leva* monthly, an average family of three (man, wife and a child) with a yearly income of 120 to 144 thousand *leva* would theoretically have to pay 159 thousand *leva* to the government. Naturally, all other taxes, insurances, party fees, subscriptions, union fees, aid to Korea, Red Cross, 'voluntary donations,' etc. are in addition to the taxes. This does not account for the most indispensable living expenses.

"A sure indice for the incredible increase in the national debt and the growth of inflation can be found in

the consecutive increase of the State's Budget during the past few years:

Year	Revenue	Expenses	Indexes
1947	52.7 billion	52.7 billion	100-100
1948	100.8 "	95.3 "	191-180
1949	169.4 "	151.4 "	321-287
1950	230.0 "	200.0 "	436-379
1951	301.3 "	268.5 "	571-509
1952	370.0 "	344.0 "	702-652

"An interesting item is the National Defense. In spite of the secrecy covering any information about the Army expenses, the general figures published on various occasions show their incessant growth. For the last four years these figures are:

Year	National Defense	Percent of the State Budget
1949	12.5 billion	10.6
1950	13.0 "	7.0
1951	21.0 "	7.7
1952	40.0 "	13.6

"But this covers only the admitted expenses for the National Defense. Most certainly, large parts of the credits allowed for the Army are hidden under other sections, such as the 78 billion *leva* included in the expenses for the National Economy which are not mentioned in the explanation given by the Minister of Finance, K. Lazarov. A close analysis of the different statements and declarations made or published by government and Party officials, leads to the conclusion that the probable real budget for the National Defense would be approximately 120-150 billion *leva*."

### Czechoslovakia

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), proudly declared on March 29 that:

"On March 28, the Czechoslovak National Assembly passed the State budget for the current year. For the first time in Czechoslovak history it covers not only state income and expenditure, but also that of the national economy.

"Hence its volume exceeds all previous budgets. As compared to 166,520 million *koruny*\* of budgeted income, and 166,246 million *koruny* of budgeted expenditure in 1951, the totals for this year amount to twice as much:

	income	koruny
I. Nation Economy including administration		262,215,872,000
II. Cultural and social measures		9,280,673,000
III. National Security**		829,838,000
IV. Administration		51,955,913,000
TOTAL		324,282,296,000

\* The official rate of exchange is 50 *koruny* to one dollar.

\*\* The Ministry of National Security (which deals with labor camps, etc.) was established as a separate ministry in 1950 and provided by the budget with 100 million *koruny* for 1951.

Expenditure	koruny
I. National Economy including administration	217,499,273,000
II. Cultural and Social measures	58,779,269,000
III. National Security	22,495,996,000
IV. Administration	20,095,605,000
V. State Debt	4,701,798,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>323,528,941,000</b>

"A surplus of 753,355,000 *koruny* appears."

In a previous editorial on March 25, the same newspaper commented on the budgetary allocations:

"The greatest part of the expenditures (67.2 percent) is destined for the further development of our economy. Allocations from the State budget will finance only key investments which will receive 892 billion *koruny*. These 92 billion will strengthen the foundations of our property. . . .

"The second large part of the expenditures (18.2 percent) will go to the social, psychological, and cultural welfare of our country and people. . . . In comparison with last year, this year's budget foresees an average increase of 28 percent in expenditures for the school system (with nurseries increasing by 66 percent and universities by 50 percent), an increase of 33 percent for scientific activities, and an increase of 113.8 percent for public health, granted without cost to all citizens. Health Insurance benefits are listed as 18.7 billion and old age benefits as 27.2 billion. . . . Expenditures for National Defense and for National Security have been increased, as compared to 1951, by 43.5 percent. . . .

"Out of the total income of 324.3 billion *koruny*, 86.5 percent will be derived from the Socialistic sector of our economy in the form of profits, the general purchase tax, and the interest on basic capital. A mere 6.2 percent of the income will be derived from taxes paid by the citizens. . . ."

Minister Kabes revealed the sources of the State income in his parliamentary report of March 24, which was published on the following day by *Rude Pravo*:

"Of the various sources of the total State income, the most important is the general tax. . . . The special profits tax, as far as national and municipal enterprises are concerned, has been abolished as of January 1, 1952. Therefore, in 1952, this source of revenue will be reduced by 93.2 percent, the remaining 6.8 percent accruing from enterprises whose past payments have not been met. Otherwise, the main sources of income, besides the general tax, are the profits from our socialistic enterprises. . . .

"The principal taxes paid by the citizens are the tax on wages, the agricultural tax, the tax on literary and artistic activities and the tax on independent professions. . . ."

In the five days of parliamentary debate devoted to the budget, the Deputies eulogized various points:

M. P. Boruvka: "Our government and Party have placed 1,584 million *koruny* at our disposal for the support and development of animal production in 1952. This is 90 times the amount spent by the capitalistic First Republic in 1934."

M. P. Fiala: "The construction industry will be increased by 34 percent during this year. . . . The country will be improved by the erection of 16 hydro-electric plants which will, within a comparatively short period, transform the energy of our rivers into 8.5 billion kw. hours of electric power. . . . 12 dams will be built. . . . Transportation is to increase in tonnage by 29.5 percent in the CSD [Czechoslovak State Railroads], the CSAD [Czechoslovak motor-transportation], and the three national river boat enterprises. . . ."

Deputy Bohus said, with regard to the industrialization of Slovakia:

"Heavy industry alone will be increased by 35 to 40 percent compared to 1951. This year almost 40 new enterprises will start operating and 50 new buildings will be added to already existing plants. The turnover in goods in the retail business will increase by almost 15 percent. . . ."

A Czechoslovak economist in exile has listed the following factors which should be considered in any analysis of the new budget:

1. The devaluation of the Czechoslovak currency to a fraction (1/5 to 1/10) of its pre-war value.

2. The entirely different structure of the new budget which, in addition to the income and expenditure of the State Administration and Armed Forces, now includes the financial operations of the entire economy, such as industrial, commercial, transport, agricultural (State farms) and other economic enterprises.

3. The fact that of the total expenditure provided by the new budget, almost one third is earmarked for capital investments in the key industries which in a free economy are made by private industries.

4. The further fact that in such an inflated budget, military expenditure naturally represents a much smaller percentage of the total budget than is the case in capitalist countries.

5. The expenditures for setting up new armament and aircraft factories, new airfields, barracks and military training camps, the training of workers militias, plant defense groups, pre-military defense training in schools, the Sokol units, the Cooperation with the Army Union and other mass organizations, are not included in the budget of the Ministries of National Defense and National Security but in the budgets of other central departments.

## Poland

*Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), of March 1 carried a full page report by Minister of Finance, K. Dabrowski, on the new Polish Budget. The main features of the budget are presented in table form below, along with an analysis by an exiled economist including a comparison with 1951.

	Total Figures of the Budget (in Million zlotys) *	
	1951	1952
Total Revenue	55,971	63,787
Total Expenditure	51,891	62,876
Budget Surplus	4,080	911

\* The official dollar-zloty rate of exchange is 1:4.



## Revenue (in million zlotys)

	1951 Total	Percentage of Total Revenue	1952 Total	Percentage of Total Revenue
Socialized economy	44,564	79.6	44,791	70.2
Private economy and income from taxation	5,998	10.6	7,898	12.5
Income from Social Insurance	unknown	—	7,010	10.9
Loans and Deposits	1,234	2.0	1,140	1.8
Remaining income, including admin- istrative	unknown	—	2,937	4.6
Fees, transfers and various items	4,175	7.8	not given	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55,971</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>63,812**</b>	<b>100</b>

## Expenditure (in million zlotys)

	1951 Total	Percentage of Total expendi- tures	1952 Total	Percentage of Total expendi- tures
Socialized economy, investment only	21,143 (16,425)	40.8 77.7	26,559 19,440	42.2 73.2
Social and Cultural expenditure and investment in those fields	16,336	31.5	16,199	25.5
National Defense (current expendi- tures only)	3,750	7.2	6,601	10.5
Administration, justice and in- ternal security	6,694	12.9	7,356	11.7
Debts, reserves and other expenditures	3,968	7.7	not given	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>51,891</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56,715</b>	<b>89.9</b>

"The total expenditures for this year, as categorized above, are 6,161 million *zlotys* less than the total figure published. Minister Dabrowski did not explain how this difference is to be spent, but a possible expenditure of the extra 6 billion *zlotys* could be in subsidies for the regional budget and debt services.

"Considering that the Communist regime in Poland has stopped publishing detailed appendixes to the budget which are indispensable for any thorough analysis, an evaluation of the budget is not easy.

"Members of the Polish Parliament who approved the budget also do not have access to the detailed appendixes and, in fact, are not in a position to know the real facts behind the budget. In spite of this lack of material, using the official figures as given above, it is possible to obtain the following conclusions:

\*\* Total revenue as computed for 1952 is 25 million more than that given by the Minister of Finance, K. Dabrowski. In his report, K. Dabrowski did not explain this discrepancy.

"The most arresting feature of this year's budget is the fact that in spite of the considerable increase of the Socialized economy, the income from this sector of the economy is expected to be only 227 million *zlotys* more than that in 1951. At the same time the income from private economy, which is rapidly dwindling, and taxation from the population is going to be 1,900 million *zlotys* more than in 1951. This shows that the capacity for profit making of Socialized economy is actually decreasing and the losses are expected to be made up by greater taxation of the remainder of private enterprise and of the working people.

"The figures for investment expenditure are also striking. The fact that 73.2 percent of total expenditure for Socialized economy is to be spent on investments proves that very little remains for the production of consumers goods, causing a further decrease in the standard of living.

"The expenditures for National Defense as shown in the above table is expected to be 2,851 million *zlotys* greater than in 1951, an increase of nearly 80 percent. It is worthwhile to stress that the figure for national defense represents only the 'current expenditure,' while in reality, this expenditure is much greater. Fortifications, armaments, etc. cost a great deal and therefore, the assumption that military expenditure is hidden in other items of the budget such as Socialized economy, social and cultural expenditures, etc. is fully justified.

"The expenditure for administration, justice and internal security is going to increase by 662 million *zlotys* over that of 1951. Minister Dabrowski gave only the total figure of expenditure for Administration, Justice, and Internal Security. But Deputy Wasik, who presented this part of the budget to the Parliament, stated on March 17 (*Glos Pracy*, March 18) that 'expenditure on administration and justice will be 3.1 percent less than in 1951.' As the total expenditure for administration, justice and security is going to be 662 million *zlotys* more than in 1951, we can legitimately assume that expenditure on internal security is to be 662 million *zlotys* greater than in 1951, plus the above mentioned 3.1 percent decrease of expenditure for administration and justice. The increase of expenditure for internal security is substantiated by Deputy Wasik in the following manner:

"The Anglo-American imperialism is carrying out an increasing espionage activity, allocating millions of dollars to organize and direct subversive activities, espionage, sabotage and hostile propaganda. . . . This fact is imposing considerable duties on the security organs guarding peace and order in our country.'

"While the expenditure for national defense and police increases, the expenditure for the social and cultural needs of Poland decreases. The comparison of budgetary figures for 1951 and 1952 shows a 137 million *zlotys* decrease in the expenditure for social and cultural needs (6 percent less in comparison with total budgetary expenditures) in 1951."

## Romania

The Bucharest "Agerpress" wire, March 26, reported the following information regarding the new Romanian budget:

"The 11th session of the National Assembly opened today. . . . The Finance Minister, D. Petrescu, presented the draft bill for the endorsement of the 1952 State Budget. Urgency being required, the members of the . . . Assembly immediately approved the draft bill [which] was then sent for study to the Economic and Financial Commission."

Another "Agerpress" wire of the same day reports that the afternoon session of the Assembly "unanimously approved the report of the Economic and Financial Commission's draft on the 1952 State budget." General discussion on the bill was slated for the next day's morning session.

The wire service also reported that: "16.4 percent of the nation's total expenditures of 30,600,000,000 lei (\$2,736,000,000) this year would be spent on defense. In 1951, defense accounted for 15.8 percent of the budget."

And on March 28 the approved budget appeared in all newspapers in a greatly condensed form.\*

Revenue (in millions of lei)		32,108
Excise taxes	15,120	
Profits from State enterprise	3,500	
Income Taxes	2,014	
Local Revenues	1,368	
Social security withholdings	1,128	
Other taxes and miscellaneous revenues	10,991	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32,108</b>	
Expenditures (in millions of lei)		30,608
Financing of the National Economy	16,100	
Expenditures for Social and Cultural activities	5,356	
National Defense	5,030	
Miscellaneous (Administration, Justice, International Obligations)	4,122	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30,608</b>	

An exiled Romanian economist has this to say regarding the new budget:

"The difference between revenue and expenditure shows a surplus of 1,500 million lei. As pointed out by Minister Petrescu, last year's revenue was 14 percent greater than expected.

"This year's budget is 30 percent greater than that for 1951 and almost 50 percent greater than was expected. It is certain that this increase is not due to an increase in the national income, but to the failure of the regime to check the inflationary trend, in spite of the recent currency reform.

"The breakdown of the revenue is proportionally the same as in the past, but the figures have increased. Almost half of the revenue derives from excise taxes; these, together with the revenues of State enterprises make up 50 percent of the budget and are considered as 'the Socialist sector of the economy.'

"Although income taxes have decreased as stated in

\* All figures are in new lei. One new lei equals 20 "pre-reform" lei; and one dollar now equals 11.2 lei.

the budget from 9 percent to 6.2 percent, they have actually increased since last year by 150 million lei.

"This reflects not only the trend toward inflation, but a further dwindling of private enterprise and increased taxation on what is left. The decrease in excise tax revenue indicates a production drop and a decrease in consumer purchasing power.

"In 1951, 46.4 percent of the budget was earmarked for the national economy, as against 52.6 percent this year (9,985 million lei against 16,100 million lei in 1952, over 61 percent more). Minister Petrescu announced that 71.5 percent of this year's figure (11,510 million lei) represents investments, but this figure is not balanced by any corresponding increase in national income. These investments apply to the development of:

- Socialist industrialization
- Transportation
- Agriculture
- Building industry
- Production of consumer goods
- Local industry

"The working capital of State economic enterprises will be increased by 1,992 million lei over last year's figure, but neither is publicly revealed. Agriculture will receive 337 million lei to develop Socialist agriculture, to increase farm production and to increase the food supply and the supply of agricultural raw materials for industry.

"The sums destined for Cultural and Social activities have remained almost unchanged since last year's expenses, that is, 5,250 million lei, thus showing a percentage decrease from 24.3 percent in 1951 to 17.5 percent this year. The sum allocated for International Obligations has disappeared from the latest budget, implying that the RPR has paid up all armistice and peace treaty debts, or that Moscow has cancelled them."

## Albania

Radio Tirana (Albania), announced on March 3, that:

"The third ordinary session of the Albanian People's Assembly opened on the afternoon of March 3, to approve the State Budget for 1952, as well as two decrees issued by the Presidium of the Assembly. The State budget for this year amounts to 10.3 billion leks\* revenue and 10.2 billion leks expenditure. In 1951 the budget was 9.5 billion for revenue and 9.1 billion for expenditure.

"The scheduled expenditure for 1952 is as follows: new building works and the expansion of the people's economy, 3,995,445,000 leks, as compared with 2,988,288,000 leks last year. This amounts to 39 percent of the budget expenditure. In addition, an appropriation of 415,497,000 leks is made for the financing of new investments.

"Social and cultural measures will cost 2,224,861,000 leks. This is 23 percent of the budget expenditure, and 698,939,000 leks more than last year. For the Armed Forces and for the defense of the Fatherland, the budget calls for 11 percent of the general expenditure of the State Budget, as against 11.6 percent last year. . . .

\* The present known rate is 50 leks to one dollar.

"The anticipated revenue from the Socialist field represents more than 45 percent of the over-all revenue budget as compared with just under 40 percent last year; revenue from the population is only 12 percent. While last year revenue from imports amounted to almost 20 percent of the budget, this year it will be 15 percent. The 15 percent of the revenue covered by imports is the result of the contribution and aid afforded by the USSR and the People's Democracies. This represents a considerable contribution to the rehabilitation of our economy."

On March 5, the ATA News Agency (Tirana), reported on the Assembly's discussion of the budget for 1952:

"At the second meeting of the Third Session of the People's Assembly . . . on March 4, the Minister of Mines said that the Draft Budget for 1952 provided for considerable investments in mining amounting to 756,373,000 *leks* or a 171.13 percent increase over last year.

"323,682,000 *leks* will be allocated for industrial building; machines and equipment necessary for the building of the new Cerrik oil works; new mining machinery, bores, tractors, oil pipes, etc.

"The Minister of Public Health stressed that 547,702,000 *leks* have been earmarked in this year's budget for the protection and improvement of public health. This represents an increase of 147 percent over last year's allocation. This sum will be divided as follows: 62,702,000 *leks*—a 172.5 percent increase—to be spent on investments for increasing and expanding medical facilities; 26,140,000 *leks* on the training of lower cadres; 38,149,000 *leks*—a 123.6 percent increase—on the protection of mothers and children in the State establishments.

"In addition, provision is made for the expenditure of 217,131,000 *leks*—a 145.1 percent increase—for all sorts of medical and health activities, such as the maintenance and operation of local health centers prophylaxis, and the struggle against infectious diseases.

"The budget draft was put to the vote, article by article, and approved unanimously."

### Latvia and Estonia

The Soviet Supreme Council in Moscow has approved the 1952 budgets for the various separate republics.

N. Svernik, chairman of the Soviet Supreme Council, made public the approved Latvian budget in *Cina* (Riga), on March 11:

"The budget lists an income of 509,9 million *rubles* and 476 million *rubles* for expenditures. Compared to last year's figures, the first represents an increase of 41.9 million, and the second an increase of 35.6 million *rubles*. . . . The budget of Soviet Latvia has been balanced to 1,414,976,000 *rubles*."

Radio Tallinn reported on April 2, that:

"The second session of the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR began today. . . . The 1952 State budget was presented for debate . . . and is anticipated by the Council of Ministers . . . as having a revenue of 1,087,573,000 *rubles* and expenditures of 1,059,280,000 *rubles* a surplus of 28,293,000 *rubles*."

## II. DISTRIBUTION AND REGULATION OF MANPOWER

A general lack of confidence in the workers' ability and willingness to meet production quotas, has led the authorities to resort to public rebukes as a means to improvements. More strikes and sabotage meet with more reprisals, including the ultimate reprisal of the now-familiar phenomena of forced labor camps.

A refugee report describes one way in which Hungary is meeting the labor problem:

"In 1950, 223,000 new workers were employed in production. The 1951 plan called for a further increase of 200,000 workers, of whom 160,000 were to have been manual workers. In order to secure the 160,000 workmen, the regime launched a manpower recruitment campaign in February 1951. All means of propaganda, the local councils, the Party, youth and women's organizations were mobilized to attain the desired results. In spite of this, industry succeeded in recruiting only 109,000 new workers, including manual workers, white collar workers and assistant personnel. Thus the plan for recruiting manpower was fulfilled by only 50 percent.

"In 1952 the regime has a difficult task to perform as far as manpower recruitment is concerned. First, it must make up for the lag in 1951, and then secure the additional number of workers needed for the accomplishment of the expanded 1952 economic plan. In 1951 the labor force was short 80,000 men, and the 1952 plan calls for an additional 180,000 workers; this makes a total of 260,000 new workers wanted in industry. Drastic measures are being taken to force the surplus agricultural population to work in factories. Preparations for this campaign have been going on since December 1951, and in a manner which is unparalleled even in the 'People's Democracies.' By order of the Minister of the Interior, the rural councils made detailed reports on the size and distribution of the cultivated land and on the number, occupation, etc., of the residents of their respective districts. The Ministry of the Interior attached great importance to this work, and the Communist Party assigned 9,000 so-called instructors to the councils, partly to assist the rural authorities in their work and partly to control the accuracy of the statistics. Special emphasis was laid on the data concerning the agricultural population. On the basis of the compiled data, the Ministry determined the manpower needed in agriculture, and the persons defined as 'surplus' agricultural workers are now being drafted for factory work. The aim of the regime is to employ as many young people as possible in industry.

"Last, but not least, the government is hoping that as a result of this measure the independent farmers will be compelled to join the kolkhozes because as soon as the 'surplus' manpower is removed from the rural areas, the farmers will be unable to secure farm help. They will thus be compelled either to take advantage of the services of the machine stations—which will eventually lead to the farmers joining the kolkhozes—or else to neglect their lands, for which they are subject to punishment and confiscation. In addition, according to a new regulation, farmhands may be hired only through the local



councils. In practice this means that the kulaki will never, or only in very exceptional cases, be able to hire any help."

### "Labor-Educational" Camps

Other, more strident, measures to utilize manpower are frequently applied in the Satellite countries, as illustrated by the following exile's report on the "labor-educational" camps in Bulgaria:

"The background of the prisoners is more or less the same; they have been arrested and sent to these camps without trial, or even a simple inquiry to ascertain their guilt. Suspicion of pro-Western sympathy, refusal to join cooperatives, former membership in a moderate Democratic Party, are sufficient causes for workers to be sent to a camp for 're-education.' There they work under armed guard for 10-12 hours daily. The established work norms are extremely high. Food is served twice a day, and consists of two bowls of cabbage or bean soup and 400 grams of bread. No medical service exists in any of the camps. As a result of these inhuman working conditions, the mortality rate is constantly increasing.

"The labor camps are roughly divided into the following groups, according to the kind of work done by the inmates:

1. Coal mines — 13,500 to 15,000 inmates in 5 large camps
2. Dam construction — 11,000 to 12,000 inmates in 5 large camps
3. Farming — 8,500 to 10,000 inmates in 3 large camps
4. Irrigation projects — 9,000 to 12,000 inmates in 3 large camps
5. Railway construction — 4,500 to 5,000 inmates in 3 large camps
6. Road construction — 3,500 to 6,000 inmates in 1 large camp

TOTAL—50,000 to 60,000 inmates in 20 large camps

"There are several thousand more people dispersed in smaller camps, and about 25,000 sentenced prisoners, working under similar conditions, mostly in government owned farms (DZS)."

### Involuntary "Volunteers"

Drafting of factory workers for labor in the mines of Czechoslovakia is apparent from this report by a recently escaped foreman:

"In the latter part of March, 350 workers who until then had been employed in various factories in Liberec, mostly by the Textilana Works, started work in the Jachymov Uranium Mines as members of a 'voluntary' brigade. It is understood that the workers did not join this brigade voluntarily. They were simply told by Jindrich Spacil, chairman of the plant council, that they would be fired if they refused to volunteer. In that case they would have to be put at the disposal of the labor office of the national district committee which would send them to the mines permanently. Volunteering for the brigade ensures them that their work in the mines will not exceed six months. The workers were also told

that during their term in the mines they will have no right to paid holidays. At their new place of work they will not be able to have visitors because persons who do not work there are not allowed to enter the Jachymov region except for the most urgent reasons."

An ex-government official from Romania describes forceful governmental suppression of workers' protests against working conditions:

"Anyone spreading news in Romania about strikes, whether the information is true or not, will be charged with 'economic sabotage.' The maximum penalty for this 'crime' is death, but the culprit will probably get off with 20 years of hard labor, especially if he is young and fit for strenuous work.

"This is neither a law nor a decree, but a secret order by the government to the prosecuting authorities. The man in the street knows nothing about it until he suddenly finds himself arrested. He may merely have been gossiping with a neighbor; it suffices that he is caught in the act of passing on news about strikes, or that he is denounced by a Party man or agent for having indulged in spreading rumors.

"Since the successful strike of 8,000 workers in the Ploesti oil fields and refinery on February 5, (which lasted 48 hours and obtained for the workers a ten percent wage increase plus three extra holidays added to the 12-day a year vacation), the country is in the grip of a nationwide strike wave. Plants which have been paralyzed for days by such strikes include important war material factories, such as the Dumitru Vojna explosives plant at Stalin, the machine tool factory Victoria at Arad, the Sovromtransport shipyard at Turnu Severin and the Uzina Progresul ammunition set-up at Braila.

"These strikes are continuing in spite of strong measures taken by the authorities and the fact that hundreds of workers were arrested and sent to forced labor camps. They are not provoked by 'subversive elements,' nor are they produced or coordinated by a centrally organized Romanian resistance movement. They are a spontaneous outcome of the disastrous decline in the standard of living which has become even worse since the recent monetary reform."

### "Who Hampers the Five Year Plan?"

In Hungary, Zoltan Vas, chairman of the National Planning Bureau, delivered a talk on the problems of labor discipline at the national conference of Communist Party activists. The text, published in the April 1 issue of all Budapest papers, indicates that the regime has not yet been able to put an end to the steady sabotage of the workers.

To the question "Who Hampers the Five Year Plan?" Zoltan Vas supplied the following answers:

"Those who change their place of work arbitrarily. During the past year, 62,500 workers, in industrial plants quit their jobs without permission, and many more quit with the approval of the directors. Arbitrary quitting of work caused serious disturbances, mainly in the building industry, as well as in the mining, smelting, textile and machine manufacturing industries. . . . Those who without adequate reason are late or absent

from work. . . . The number of such workmen . . . is still extremely high. . . . The notorious slackers who are guilty of relaxing labor discipline often with the approval of the managers.

"Those who waste time in the factories. . . . No statistician could compute the losses caused by disorganized work, loitering, work begun late or stopped prematurely. As a result of the indulgence of the managers, many workers, especially time workers and those paid by the month, regard their wages as 'presence wages' and think that they fulfill their duty toward our people merely by being present at their work place during workhours. It is these workers who stroll around the factory, are irresponsible in performing their work, and increase rejects.

"Those workers who commit fraud in order to obtain sickness benefits. In 1951, in industrial plants, absenteeism under the pretext of sickness caused a loss of several billion forints. . . . The increase in the number of workers enjoying sickness benefits is not justifiable. It is obviously connected with shirkers, and the negligent, irresponsible attitude of many doctors. . . .

"[Moreover] about 45 percent of the accidents at work places are caused by those workers and managers who disregard both State and labor discipline and do not observe safety regulations. . . . The number of factory accidents is still very high. . . .

"These mistakes must be eliminated. According to the report of the Central Bureau of Statistics, during the year 1951, out of the total number of work-hours—excluding holidays and paid vacations—nine percent, that is, 28 workdays per worker, were wasted, amounting to a loss of two billion forints."

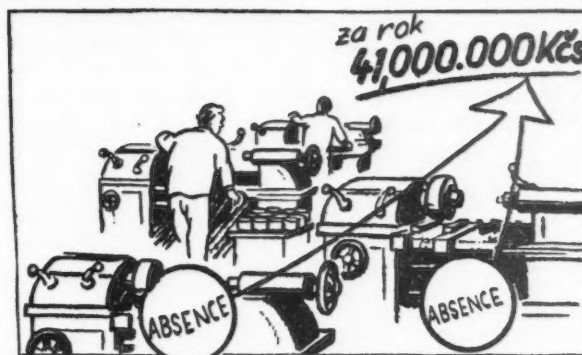
His speech included the following solutions to the problem:

" . . . One of our most urgent tasks is to put an end to the unwarranted migration of workers. . . . Party organizations and Party groups should not permit one single case of labor discipline violation to be left unpunished, particularly if the worker concerned is a Party member. . . . The Youth Organization should firmly support the Party. . . . The number of absentees is relatively larger among industrial trainees. . . . All such cases must be made public, and the offenders pilloried in order that those impeding work be branded and condemned by the workers' community.

"Managers of concerns have been given the right to denounce offenders; unfortunately, they do not practice this right! Many of our managers display an opportunistic attitude; they do not follow the Party line and the orders issued by our government, and do not keep up with the self-conscious workers of their own factories."

Vas does not appear to believe that a change in the workmen's attitude can be brought about very soon.

" . . . We know that it takes time to lay the foundations of Socialist labor discipline. Only yesterday, in Horthy's Hungary, shirking one's duty and tricking the capitalists were considered glorious feats; the workmen felt and knew that they were not working for themselves, that the fruits of their labor belonged to the capitalists,



"Losses caused by unexcused absenteeism at the Skoda works in Hradec reached 41 million koruny [\$820,000] during the past year. This is a frequent occurrence. In your plant too, hundreds of hours are being lost. Figure out the monetary value! Arouse the Comrades from their lethargy! Declare merciless war on absenteeism!" (From a cartoon published in the Czechoslovak Mlada Fronta, April 17.)

and they strove to reduce the capitalists' profits. Thanks to the liberating Soviet Union, this era belongs to the past."

### Punishment for Absenteeism

In Poland a new decree, which went into force on April 1, "represents a further attempt to curb absenteeism and to strengthen labor discipline," it was reported by an exile.

"For major transgressions, workers will be sent to work with 'corrective labor groups' rather than to jail. Other violators will receive a 20 percent reduction in their salary. The following penalties have been established:

For Time Absent	Punishment
Over 20 minutes	After the second warning, deduction of one day's pay.
Over one hour	Deduction of one day's pay.
One day	Reprimand and deduction of one day's pay.
Three days (consecutive or not)	Transfer to inferior working post for the duration of one month.
Four days	Deduction of 10 to 25 percent of monthly income throughout three consecutive months.

"The management of a factory or a physician who permits a worker to stay away from work for unjustified reasons will have to face three months in jail or a fine of 150,000 zlotys."

### III. INDUSTRIAL "PROGRESS"

The industrial evolution of those Central European countries which have become an integral part of the Soviet bloc is marked by apparent advances. However, such advances are affected by the limitations inherent in any system of forced development.

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 25, reported that the chairman of the Slovak Board of Commissioners, Julius Duris, during the recent budget debate, spoke of the increased Slovak industrial capacity. His actual words were:

"This year, according to the Plan, the increase of industrial production in Slovakia will equal production in 1937 and the increase in the production of heavy industry alone will be twice as much as that of the entire industry before the war. Total output will be nearly five and a half times as high as before the war and heavy industry will produce six and a half times its pre-war capacity. . . . We will produce three times as much brown [soft] coal as in 1950, and in 1955 Slovakia alone will produce as much electricity as the whole of capitalistic Czechoslovakia in 1937. . . .

"The total number of industrial workers will reach nearly 300,000 during 1953 as compared to the 100,000 employed in capitalistic Czechoslovakia. In 1921, 61 percent of the population were agricultural workers, in 1950 only 42 percent. Today 400 out of 1,000 women are employed, as against 186 in 1921 and 250 in 1930."

An escaped Romanian industrial worker observed that:

"Beginning in 1950, and during 1951, the oil region of Moinesti, in the Bacau region, was greatly extended for exploitation. Prior to 1950, only the Moinesti wells were exploited. In 1950 a new refinery was put in operation near the village of Darmanesti, on the Adjud-Ghimes line, with a capacity of 85 carloads a day. The necessary machinery for this refinery was brought from Ploesti, by dismantling an existing refinery there. In the winter of 1950-51 a second refinery was put into operation with a daily capacity of 185 carloads. This second refinery was built with Czechoslovak materials by Czechoslovak technicians, who were paid 3,000 lei a day, and started to function early in 1951. The petroleum is brought to these refineries through direct pipe-lines from the Moinesti wells. . . . Some 40 workers' buildings were built near the refineries, each with two to four apartments."

"In 1950, drilling also started in the towns of Darmanesti, Pacurita, Harja, and Targu Ocna in the Slanicul Moldovei region. In the spring of 1951 some of the drillings had reached 1,500 meters in depth. The drilling machinery was made in the RPR. At two points, Harja and Pacurita, oil was found in June 1951, and the wells started producing at the rate of four carloads a day."

"The Sovrom Director, Stuparu, declared to some friends that the oil found there was superior to any other kind found in Romania, including that of Ploesti, and, in fact, anywhere else in Europe, as it has a very high octane content. In the above mentioned region, in the summer of 1951, some 17 oil-wells were being drilled."

"The oil from this region will be sent directly to the Darmanesti refinery. Presently a pipe-line will be built connecting the refinery area with Adjud and the Ungheni-Iasi region, so that the oil can flow directly to the Soviet tank cars."

"The area including Targu Ocna, Darmanesti, Comanesti, and Moinesti, which was very quiet until 1950, has taken on the aspect of an industrial area, with thousands of workers and technicians, machinery, and new constructions."

"Being considered an able and hard-working man, the

Sovrompetrol Director, Stuparu, who directed the drilling operations in that area, with headquarters at Targu Ocna, was promoted and moved in July 1951 to Ploesti. His place in Targu Ocna was taken by a former worker, who had been political director of the area."

### More Electrical Equipment

A news source in Vienna reported on the accomplishments in the field of electrical industry in Romania:

"The following is a list of the governmental concerns producing electric machinery, insulators, cables, etc."

"Electrocablu in Bucharest: producing, for the first time in Romania, telephone cables, multiple lead-coated cables, and cables coated with a metal tape of zinc-coated iron."

"Electroceramica: producing porcelain insulators, and insulators made of other plastic materials, the composition of which is unknown, but which are prepared in powder form and pressed into moulds of the required shape. This factory has successfully decreased the time required for both baking and cooling. They employ a new method of forced cooling in the kilns."

"Electromagnetica: producing among other things all the telephone relay installations for new cities, as well as providing for the construction of new automatic exchanges to substitute for the old telephone system of Romania. This company also constructed the extremely complicated automatic telephone exchange and the automatic fire-fighting equipment with general safety and alarm devices for the electric power station, Lenin, in Bicz."

"Electroizolantulu: producing insulating material. This concern managed to produce some 'portinax' using Romanian raw material."

"Electroprecizia: producing precision parts for electrical machinery. They manufacture revolving bars for three-phase and six-phase motors in aluminum instead of copper, with perfect results. The concern also produces a great number of instruments for electrical measuring."

"Electromoto-Timisoara: manufacturing electric motors and transformers. Also Electroputere in Craiova and Electrocasnica are important."

"These concerns are said to form the nucleus of the Romanian electrical industry and they have indeed developed production, the quality of which is becoming better and better in all respects. Furthermore, these factories are slowly being equipped for mass production."

### Tank Cars for Russia

The Yugoslav *Slovenski Porocevalec* (Ljubljana), April 6, carried under the title "Hungarian Factories Work for the Soviet Union," a report by Tanjug from Vienna which reads as follows:

"According to information received from Budapest the railway car factory at Gyor received an order to manufacture heavy, four axle, 60 ton cars which are usually used for transporting tanks, and special four axle cars for transporting various ores. Each month the factory makes 24 cars to be used for tank transportation. This factory is only one of many obliged to work for the Soviet Union. It is not able to meet domestic needs because all production material is scheduled for the USSR."



### Improved Transportation

The Polish newspaper *Trybuna Ludu*, March 24, published news of modernization:

"Two newly electrified railroads of the Warsaw system were completed on March 23; the lines connecting Warsaw and Tluszcz, and Warsaw and Blonie, which have a total length of 65 kilometers. Government members, headed by Vice-Premier Stefan Jedrychowski and the Minister of Railroads—Strzelecki, along with representatives of the Central Committee of the United Workers Party, were present at the inaugural ceremony. The leading builders of the line were honored with high State decorations."

Finally, a speed-up in Czechoslovak ship building was noted in *Prace* (Prague), March 8:

"On Wednesday, March 5, the ship builders in Komarno [near Bratislava] launched the first passenger ship built for the Volga-Don canal. Work on the internal equipment will be finished while the ship is in stream. So the workers of the Skoda Works at Komarno completed the first period of accelerated construction on the two passenger ships for the Volga-Don canal. Exemplary workers from the ranks of permanent employees and brigade workers, as well as the concerned factories, contributed to their success. . . ."

### "Production of Rejects"

In Warsaw, the Polish Home Service on March 27, broadcast a commentary by Zygmunt Jan Wyrozembski entitled "We Are Fighting for High Quality Production" from which the following excerpts have been taken:

"We are suffering from a kind of plague which can best be described as 'producing rejects.' The nation-wide labor competition for high quality production proves that the majority of workers understand the need for producing high quality goods. This applies particularly to labor competition leaders, foremen, and so on, but unfortunately there are workers in every factory who do not care at all about turning out good products and who waste labor and materials. That is why others, in other industries, receive bad tools and bad products. . . ."

"Earlier, when production was on a small scale, goods were turned out 'by feel, by touch' without the use of scientific methods, testing or measurements. This cannot go on any longer. Modern methods must be used in complicated production."

"One reason for the 'production of rejects' is the lack of knowledge of technological processes on the part of new workers in every factory, many of whom arrived straight from the villages. Social organizations set up to educate youth in technology have often failed in their task. The absence of proper control and inspection inside factories during the various production processes is another reason."

"Many craftsmen's cooperatives are turning out exemplary goods worthy of the best traditions of Polish craftsmen. But this cannot be said of all of them. In some of them, men with a capitalist approach to the consumer have entrenched themselves. Members of these cooperatives sneer at the working masses and supply the trade with shockingly bad products."

"It must not be forgotten that the enemy is taking advantage of the lack of control and vigilance and is consciously carrying out sabotage and diversion, causing defects and failures in production. There can be no tolerance for the person 'producing rejects.' He is an enemy of honest workers."

"What can be done to eliminate the 'production of rejects' and the sale of poor quality goods? These suggestions may be of some help:

"Strict discipline in the carrying out of technological processes—this must be observed even more rigorously than labor discipline; strict control during the release of goods for the market; high technical norms and standards; the marking of all goods with the factory's stamp; the introduction of fines which the factories would have to pay the trading centers for supplying bad quality goods severe punishment for those who produce rejects; an improved Socialist attitude toward production and vocational training."

"Educational methods should be used, but it must be remembered that compulsory methods are also educational where persuasion is ineffective."

*Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), March 20, in an editorial entitled "For the Improvement of Quality in Industrial Production," wrote:

"After the July 1951 conference dealing with the improvement in the quality of our production, a number of enterprises pledged to produce goods of higher quality."

"In spite of these pledges, quality has continued to deteriorate . . . cotton yarns are not of the required standard . . . certain glass and porcelain products are unsatisfactory. Factories such as Maritsa under the management of Comrade Stamatov, Vela Piskova under Comrade Nikolov, and Record under Encho Kopanov produce goods of low quality. The facts show that the managers do not check the work properly and permit gross technological shortcomings."

"There are two main ways to improve production: Observance of production rules, and constant education of the workers. . . . The poor work of many plants is no doubt due to the failure of the industrial trusts to supply technological data and directives on time and to exercise adequate control over the application of new methods. The Socialist competition has also failed to organize itself . . . the Soviet methods of Zhandarova and Agafonova have been applied by a few brigades in Sofia, but the central committees of the Trade Union organizations of the textile and metallurgical workers have shown very little interest. . . ."

The Communist Party has shown great initiative in supervising the production of factories in Latvia, but more and more goods have been produced of such quality, that they are unsuitable for the general trade."

*Sovetskaja Latvija* (Riga), March 12, published the following:

"January goals have not been met by the Jelgava flax works and the subsidiary linen-bag plant. This is the result of continual production of low quality semifabrics. The textile supervisory board and Ministry of Light Industry are fully aware of the situation, but

neither one of them has stepped in to improve the quality."

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), on March 28, stated:

"The foundries for non-ferrous metals of the CKD Stalingrad Works have to deliver cylinders for the Auto Praga works in Prague. 20-25 percent of all casts are complete rejects which have to be returned as scrap to the factories. The rest of the casts usually have to undergo repairs. In the third bi-weekly period of the current year, the cost of repairs amounted to 111,000 koruny [\$2,200]."

#### Lack of Spare Parts

A prominent Estonian exile has made the following comment, based on a report in *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), February 29, regarding the lack of spare parts in his country:

"The extent to which spare parts and all kinds of other goods are lacking in Estonia, was evidenced at the recent general session of kolkhoz leaders, 1,000 of whom gathered in Tallinn on February 27 and 28. Even the so-called model cooperatives, such as the kolkhozes Kaardivaelane in the Tapa region and V. I. Lenin in the Paide region, are seriously suffering from shortages and have had to revert to customs more than a century old.

"Thus the leader of the kolkhoz Kaardivaelane, Kozlov Aleksander (a Russian), told the Tallinn meeting that 'the smithy of the kolkhoz had to provide necessary door handles, various bolts and screws, etc., as such things could not be bought.'

"Kruusmaa Ants, from Lenin, said that 'the kolkhoz had hardly been able to fulfill repair plans, as there had been no wrought iron. The members of the kolkhoz had contributed towards the fulfillment of the Plan with whatever scrap iron they had.'

"The tales of the leaders of other, and smaller kolkhozes ran very much along the same lines. Muugo, leader of the A. H. Tammsaare kolkhoz in the Tartu region, and Maide of the Karl Marx kolkhoz in the Rapina region, declared that their agricultural machinery 'could not be repaired as there were no spare parts available.'

"'Lack of spare parts and other materials, was also the reason why the kolkhoz Voidulipp in the Antsla region failed in many of the planned enterprises,' declared leader Kuusk.

"The trade organization and its distributing bodies were also attacked for inefficient provision of vital goods. Tiits, from the kolkhoz Voimas Joud in the Elva region, and Sool Elmar, from Tee Kommunismile in the Rapla region agreed that it was 'impossible to work unless the stores provided the kolkhozes with necessities such as rope, material for grain sacks, metal threads for fences, electrical equipment, etc.'

"Kaaramees Arvid from the Hiiu region's kolkhoz Kassari, finally complained that there were 'not only no spare parts, but also no iron, no petrol, no smithy coal, etc.' 'Under these circumstances,' he said, 'it is impossible to fulfill either repair or agricultural plans.'"

#### IV. SATELLITE TRADE

In spite of the high hopes expressed by the delegates to the Moscow Economic Conference, the present situation

in the Iron Curtain countries is one of continued failure to re-establish or to even maintain already existing trade relations with the countries outside of the Soviet bloc.

The only new trade agreements so far published by the Satellite press are between the captive countries themselves with the exception of two contracts with Norway and Finland.

The Bulgarian newspaper *Zemедельско Зname* (Sofia) of March 5, announced:

"Budapest: As a result of recently completed negotiations, on February 8 an agreement was signed in Budapest on commodity exchange and payments between Bulgaria and Hungary for 1952.

"According to this agreement, Bulgaria will send to Hungary pyrite, iron ore, coal, tobacco, hides, sulphuric acid, etc., while Hungary will supply Bulgaria with freezers, mine equipment, rolled metal, petroleum by-products, chemicals, medicaments, and other products.

"The agreement provides for a sizable increase in the trade of our two countries over 1951, which will facilitate the fulfillment of the economic plans for both Bulgaria and Hungary."

Radio Sofia in its broadcast of March 22, reported:

"Today, an agreement was signed on commodity exchange and payments between the Polish Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The agreement provides for a large increase in the trade of the two countries over 1951.

"According to this agreement, the Polish Republic will supply Bulgaria with processed steel, chemicals, machines, railway cars and other products. In exchange, Bulgaria will send Poland grain, concentrates, raw materials, farm products, etc. The negotiations were completed in a friendly atmosphere with a firm desire to strengthen the existing economic ties between Bulgarian and Polish peoples."

The same radio station broadcast on April 4, that:

"On April 1, an agreement was signed on exchange of goods and payments between Bulgaria and Albania. This agreement provides for a sizable increase in the trade between the two countries over 1951. . . . On the same day another agreement for technical and scientific-technical collaboration was also signed. . . . These agreements contribute a great deal toward cementing economic relations between our two countries."

The products to be imported and exported by the two countries were not listed. The agreement on "technical cooperation" refers to the exchange of Bulgarian and Albanian workers in the different industries.

And Czechoslovakia announced in the April 6 issue of *Rude Pravo* (Prague):

"The protocol on the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and the Bulgarian People's Republic and the transportation protocol for 1952 were signed in Prague on April 5.

"According to the agreement Czechoslovakia will export machines and machine installations, various chemicals and other industrial products, while Bulgaria will contribute raw materials, ores and ore concentrates, agricultural, animal and vegetable products. . . ."

On March 26 the Romanian Agerpress wire in Bucharest made public "a trade and payments agreement for 1952 . . . between Romania and Albania."

"Under the agreement, Romania will export to Albania; farm products, industrial and oil products, paper, and other items; ~~for~~ Albania will export to Romania brass, ores, wools, leather, and other items."

Poland has negotiated new trade agreements with Norway and Finland. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), printed the following news item on April 5:

"A supplementary agreement was signed in Warsaw on April 4, between representatives of Poland and Finland to the effect that the trade exchange between the two countries for the year 1952 should increase by 80 million *rubles* more than had been stipulated in the original treaty.

"Poland will supply Finland with additional quantities of coal and will accept in exchange wood pulp, railway ties and other goods."

And Radio Warsaw reported on April 11:

"An agreement between Poland and Norway on the trade exchange for the period from April 1, 1952 to May 30, 1953, was signed in Oslo, Norway will export to Poland iron ore, aluminum, cellulose and fertilizers; Poland will export to Norway coal, iron and glass products, and chemicals."

### Import-Export Decline

At the same time, the Satellite press pointed out the steady reduction in trade with the West.

The Czechoslovak Economic Bulletin, on February 15, admitted that:

" . . . Trade between the countries of the West and Czechoslovakia has greatly declined. Taking the year 1949 as a basis, imports from the Western countries to Czechoslovakia expressed in money and fixed prices, declined in 1950 by approximately 25 percent. Imports from the United States compared with 1949 dropped by 55 percent, those from Great Britain and Ireland by 40 percent, from France by 50 percent, from Holland by 60 percent and from Italy by 37 percent. This downward trend continued in 1951. In reducing their exports to Czechoslovakia the Western countries have deprived themselves of Czechoslovak commodities which have been and continue to be of great importance to their national economies. These commodities include not only a great number of consumer's goods and agricultural products of high quality such as hops, malt and sugar, but particularly the products of the Czechoslovak metallurgical industry. . . ."

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 30, remarked in a leading article:

"These possibilities [for international trade] have not been exploited by the Western powers which have suffered heavy damage as a result. The Czechoslovak export to Western Europe declined in 1950 as compared to 1938, by almost 40 percent, import by approximately 25 percent. Nevertheless, our export to those countries

which have resisted the discriminating policy, such as Finland, is constantly increasing, in contrast to the abrupt decline in export to those countries which follow the discriminating policy line. The export to Great Britain has declined by almost 60 percent, to France by 40 percent, to Italy by approximately 50 percent, to Holland by 25 percent."

A recently escaped Czechoslovak importer revealed that:

"The Czechoslovak negotiators are finding it very difficult to conclude a new trade agreement with Sweden. The Czechoslovak delegation wants to secure the delivery of Swedish iron ore. In the past Sweden has delivered 750,000 tons of iron ore to Czechoslovakia yearly in exchange for sugar. Recently Sweden has increased her purchase of sugar from Western countries and subsequently reduced the quantity of iron ore exported to Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak negotiators have been instructed to make every effort to secure more iron ore for the Czechoslovak defense industry.

"They have had better luck in Norway, where they have agreed to sell 168 million *kroner* [3,360,000 dollars] worth of sugar for 20,000 tons of high grade iron ore, 20,000 tons of pyrite, 500 tons of aluminum, 2,000 tons of pig iron, and 15,000 tons of scrap iron."

A former Bulgarian official stated on March 18 that:

"During January, Bulgarian exports to Switzerland dropped to 78,958 Swiss francs, as compared to the January 1950 level of 194,958 Swiss francs. . . .

"The primary reason for this decrease is due to the inability of Bulgaria to fulfill her obligations to Switzerland. Moreover, while Bulgaria's foreign trade with Switzerland has dropped, the foreign trade of Switzerland, in general, has increased."

According to information received from a refugee in West Germany, the trade of Bulgaria with Sweden was developed as follows:

"During November 1950 Swedish imports from Bulgaria dropped to 153,000 Swedish *kroner*. . . . During November 1951 they dropped to 131,000 *kroner*. . . . Sweden's imports from Bulgaria for the period of January-November 1950 amounted to 3,308,000 *kroner*, while for the same period of time in 1951, they dropped to 454,000 *kroner*.

"The same decrease is evident in Sweden's export to Bulgaria. Due to the decrease of Bulgarian imports in Sweden, the latter exported to Bulgaria, for the period of January-November 1951, goods amounting to only 807,000 Swedish *kroner*, while for the same period of time in 1950 Sweden's export to Bulgaria was 2,497 *kroner* greater.

"During November 1951 Sweden exported to Bulgaria only 1,000 *kroner* worth of goods while during November 1950 exports were valued at 396,000 *kroner*."

*Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), March 29, quoted a speech by Vice-Premier Stefan Jedrychowski delivered at the 103rd session of the Sejm in which he remarked regarding trade with the free countries:

"As a result of the discriminating policy imposed by the United States upon the East-European countries



our commercial exchanges are at present smaller than in 1949. This is detrimental most of all to those capitalist countries yielding to the dictates of the American Imperialists."

### Hungarian Rejects

The Yugoslav daily *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) on March 24, provided news of export difficulties in Hungary:

"Last month Sweden and Israel returned radio equipment valued at two million *forints* to the radio factory in Ujpest because of the bad quality of the goods. It has been learned that Premier Rakosi intervened personally in this matter, as the bad production of this factory seriously damages the Hungarian balance of foreign trade. A workers' meeting was held in the factory and it was established that the reasons for the poor quality of the produced goods were inferior materials, a production norm which was too high, and difficult working conditions. Lately large delivery orders have come from the USSR. It is expected that from now on, the quality of the products will improve, because together with the order a special Soviet commission arrived, which will control the production for the Soviet Union."

Hungary was the only Iron Curtain country represented at this year's Spring Fair at Frankfurt am Main. Five booths displayed a rich variety of goods put out by the following nationalized trade organizations: Agrimpex, Terimpex, Nonimpex, Electroimpex, Artex, Medimpex, Tannimpex, Hungarotex. A correspondent reported:

"Anyone who took a superficial glance at the articles on display must have had the impression that Hungary is a land of milk and honey."

"The advertisements although abundant were written in poor German. Apparently, not one member of the Hungarian team knew German well. Business discussions were conducted by interpreters brought from Hungary, in a language that was a mixture of French and German."

"The Hungarian personnel consisted mostly of women who behaved in an extremely reserved manner. . . . The sales personnel, as well as the visitors, were observed by

members of the Hungarian delegation seated in the rear of the booths."

"Electroimpex displayed electro-technical equipment, including telephone sets, and radio sets of first-class quality. Prices were relatively low. Agrimpex, Terimpex, and Monimpex, which had the most attractive stands, sold their entire stock the first day. Only some salami and ten kilograms of canned ham remained unsold. Wine, alcoholic drinks, tobacco seeds, vegetable products, vegetable oil, sugar, and cotton were entirely sold out."

"Hungarotex exhibited poplin materials, printed silks, men's shirts, children's clothes and wool. Interest in this booth was small, probably because these articles were unable to compete in quality and in taste with Western products."

"Tannimpex displayed furs, leather and leather goods. The military cut of the overcoats was very striking with high cuffs on the sleeves and shoulder epaulets. Excellent quality sport equipment for fencing, table tennis, and discus throwing was also exhibited."

"The booths of Hungarotex and Artex had a conservative Western touch and did not in the least differ from those of the Western countries. Furniture in rococo style was displayed."

"Agrimpex, Terimpex, and Monimpex, displayed many Communist lines. 'Hungarian women have switched to labor in the economic process, and thus contribute to the overfulfillment of the Five Year Plan.' 'As a result of strict control over nationalized seed and crop production institutes, only improved varieties of seeds and plants are at the disposal of the country; this too, contributes to the overfulfillment of the Five Year Plan.' 'By 1954 Hungary will have one tractor for every 534 cadastral acres of land, thus taking the burden off the shoulders of the peasants.'"

"The personnel seems to have been perfectly trained in Bolshevik ideology, but they were absolutely unexperienced in international trade and in languages. Of course, at this moment, it was more important for the regime in Hungary to have reliable agents in Frankfurt am Main. The real experts were sent to the Moscow Economic Conference."

# Ideological Weapons

## I. ROLE OF INTELLECTUAL IN CAPTIVE EUROPE

Today, in captive Europe, Marxist-Leninism is being established as the political, scientific and ideological foundation for each Satellite government. It is the *sine qua non* of the new intelligentsia and the basis for all cultural activity. On the premise that education, the arts and sciences are becoming Communist weapons, intellectuals who practice these arts are soldiers of Communism, inspired by the militant philosophy of Marx. On returning from Moscow, Laszlo Orban, Secretary of the Hungarian National Council for Advanced Education said, as quoted in *Koznevelés* (Budapest), March 15:

"Only since I have been to Russia do I fully realize that our entire scientific activity and pedagogy must be built on the pattern of Soviet science under the leadership of the great Stalin. Without Marxist-Leninism and Stalin's interpretation thereof, our scientific activities would produce no positive results, in either the theoretical or the practical field."

Intermittent conferences are held to keep intellectual leaders in step with the latest Soviet interpretations of both academic and current subjects. In January, a conference on "Pavlovism" convened at Krynica, Poland, where it was maintained that "the study of Pavlov's teachings has an enormous significance for the progress of contemporary medicine. . . ." In February, the Ideological Conference in Brno, Czechoslovakia, denounced "objectivism" in science, and "cosmopolitanism." And in March the Academy of the Romanian People's Republic held a special scientific session. Stressing the importance of the scientific concept of dialectic materialism and the new "approach" to history, "cosmopolitanism" was again deplored.

The major subjects under discussion were physics, chemistry, biology, medicine and history. In its issues of March 25 and 26, *Scanteia* (Budapest), gave a partial report on the meetings. Speaking on physics and mathematics, Professor Stefan Vencov, Director of the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest said:

" . . . There is a hard struggle for the victory of the scientific concept of dialectic materialism. . . . Idealistic concepts in physics are characterized by very abstract mathematics, devoid of material foundation. . . .

Contemporary idealism in physics denies the objective character of space and time. Quantum mechanics is also faked and faultily interpreted by idealists and agnostics."

Professor Vescan, corroborating Professor Vencov, also pointed out that the influence of idealistic thoughts can still be found in the realm of theoretical physics, as well as in metaphysical methods of research. This is particularly noticeable in the work of [the Western] physicists de Broglie and W. Heisenberg. "In my work too," admitted Professor Vescan, "a conciliatory attitude toward Einstein's deviations has manifested itself."

Further quotations from Vescan's remarks at the conference confirmed that "deviationist" theories have infiltrated certain courses. Reporting on the conference, *Scanteia* wrote:

" . . . erroneous data, such as the theory regarding the structure of the atom's nucleus, exist in courses on the structure of matter. . . . The Physics and Mathematics section should hold a long session in the realm of theoretical physics and should use the rich experience of such Soviet scientists as Ambartsumian, Ivanenko . . . etc."

Academician Ilie Murgulescu, head of the Committee for Higher Education castigated himself for not "unmasking" the theory of resonance in chemistry as an idealistic, unscientific conception. "In my job as Professor of Chemistry and Physics I have not made the necessary contribution toward leading the chemists in a broad discussion of the theory of resonance within the framework of the technical and chemical section of the Academy, and this has impeded practical work in the realm of chemistry."

Professor Gheorghe Stefan, Associate Member of the Academy and Dean of the History Department of Parhon University in Bucharest, emphasized the importance of history's social function and the "materialist concept in the development of society":

"[History] must know how to draw conclusions from the data which it discovers, conclusions which should help in the transformation of society and the building of Socialism in Romania. These conclusions should help in the education of youth and citizens in the spirit of Socialist patriotism and international proletarianism.

"In the struggle of the honest historians in Romania to rid themselves of the idealistic interpretation of history, a heritage of education under past regimes, they

have begun to realize the value of the materialistic concept in the development of society. This, together with the use of Soviet experience has led to achievements which are contributing to . . . a scientific interpretation of the development of our Motherland's history."

The survey of Soviet philosophy which follows, written by an eminent Hungarian educator and lexicographer describes the basic philosophy which was manifested in the various conferences just described:

"Soviet philosophy, which is studied and practiced in the captive countries as well as the USSR, recognizes only two thinkers—Marx and Engels. But even their philosophies must be interpreted by Lenin and kept up to date by Stalin. Intellectuals in the Satellite orbit receive their philosophical instruction from Lenin's interpretation of Marx and Stalin's interpretation of Lenin.

"The cornerstones of Marxist philosophy are: dialectical methods and the dogma of historical materialism. According to the dialectical method, transcendental and material fact may be adapted to the prevailing and momentary interest of the Party. Furthermore, historical materialism teaches that every social and intellectual phenomenon is a derivative of the current form of economic production. In essence, Soviet philosophy consists of dialectics and historical materialism linked together in order to promote the interests of the Party. 'The Science of Marxism,' said Stalin, 'cannot be satisfied with merely explaining the world at large, it must actually reform the world.'

"Zhdanov refers to Marxism as ' . . . a militant philosophy, with the task of promoting the victory of the proletarian masses.' This statement puts Soviet philosophy in a different category from ancient and Western philosophy which strove towards the knowledge of truth. In practice Soviet philosophy is brought actively into the lives of its citizens through lectures and seminars in Party schools, newspaper articles, as well as the required purchase of the works of Lenin and Stalin. The popularized versions of these works may be purchased for the equivalent of two or three cents a copy.

"Lenin describes Marxist science as ' . . . an almighty power, which does not bow to any kind of superstition, reaction or to any supporter of bourgeois oppression.' Gyorgy Lukacs, Hungary's leading exponent of Communist philosophy ascribed the failure of the short lived Hungarian Bolshevik Republic of 1919 to a faulty understanding of Marxism. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), April 1, quoted him as follows:

"'One of the reasons for the downfall of the Hungarian Republic was that the rightist Social Democratic traitors did not understand Marxism; they denied Marxist philosophy and committed treason against its ideology.'

"In the Soviet orbit which is acquainted only with Party philosophy, all other philosophies are condemned. In Lenin's words 'to take a philosophical stand which is not in line with the Party is equivalent to serving the interests of the bourgeoisie.' An interesting example of this occurred in 1947. Minister of Public Education Alexandrov wrote a book on philosophy in which he briefly acknowledged the contributions of some materialist Western philosophers. As a result, Zhdanov, one time

secretary of the Communist Party and member of the Politburo, who was also prominent for his pronouncements in the philosophical and cultural fields, banned Alexandrov's book and dismissed him from his post.

"In conjunction with Stalin's tenet that the Soviet Union is the only paragon to be emulated in every field, Zhdanov said of Hegel, Marx's teacher: 'Despite the fact that Hegel discovered the methods of dialectics, he himself did not understand them.'

"The Russian materialist philosophers of the 19th century, Herzen, Tchernishevsky and Dobrolyubov are considered as forerunners of Marxism. Despite their inclusion in this category they do not share honors with Lenin whose philosophy is regarded as 'the greatest cultural achievement of all humanity, the pinnacle of human scientific thought.'"

## II. CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH CHINA

Within the framework of their present cultural isolation, East European Satellite leaders are endeavoring to give Communist culture a world-wide significance. A closer unity to their counterparts in the Far East is accomplished by trade and cultural agreements involving student and artistic exchange. Government leaders tell their citizens that the peoples of China and North Korea also belong to the great Communist brotherhood. A survey of the Satellite press shows the importance attributed to these cultural relations and in the past year the European Peoples' Democracies have been urged towards a closer cultural integration with the Chinese Peoples' Republic.

To date, Hungary, Romania, and Poland have signed cultural agreements with China and a Czechoslovak delegation is presently negotiating in Peiping. The Polish-Chinese agreement was ratified in Peiping on January 25. This climaxed a series of protocols and diplomatic exchanges started in Warsaw a year ago. Commenting on the original agreement *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 4, 1951, wrote:

"The aim of the agreement is to arrange for the exchange of cultural experiences. . . . This will contribute to the strengthening of friendly relations between the two nations. A Polish-Chinese Commission for Intellectual Cooperation will be created in conjunction with this agreement, and will hold periodic meetings in order to prepare . . . for the implementation of the agreement. Two subcommittees will be set up under the framework of this Commission, one residing in Warsaw, the other in Peiping."

The Polish delegation which went to Peiping in 1952 was headed by Ambassador J. K. Wende, General Secretary of the Committee for Foreign Cooperation. He was accompanied by representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Art, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Learning. Referring to the purpose of the Peiping mission, Ambassador Wende described it as cultural exchange between Poland and China for 1952. In an article for *Trybuna Ludu*, March 2, Wende said:

" . . . In Chinese libraries we find quite a few transla-



tions from past and contemporary Polish artistic prose such as Prus, Orzeszkowa [etc.]. . . . It is with great emotion that in far away Shanghai or Hangchow we are [now able] to turn the pages of the Chinese translations of 'Pan Tadeusz' [a famous Polish epic].

"Chopin is enjoying great popularity and his compositions are now accessible to larger circles of young Chinese musicians for the first time. In China people are taking an increased interest in our contemporary literature, drama, motion pictures, sculpture and music. . . .

"It is possible to state with satisfaction that . . . during one year our nation has become better acquainted with the ancient and contemporary culture of the brotherly Chinese nation, than during the entire twenty year period between the first and second world wars. It is also noteworthy that last year an exhibition of Chinese art was organized in Poland, as well as certain theatrical performances and film showings. Translations of a number of Chinese works were published including the works of Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Kuo Mo-jo, Lu Sin and other authors."

## Czechoslovak Minister in Peiping

On April 13 the Czechoslovak delegation headed by Minister of Information Kopecky arrived in Peiping to sign a series of agreements. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 4, described the purposes of the trip:

" . . . A Czechoslovak Government delegation left Prague for China in order to conclude a number of important agreements . . . Headed by Minister of Information Kopecky . . . the delegation consists of Minister of Postal Services, Dr. A. Neumann; Deputy Minister of General Engineering, J. Maurer; Dr. L. Simovic from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs . . . and [others].

"During the visit of the . . . delegation, agreements on cultural collaboration, postal services and telecommunications will be signed."

Prior to the impending cultural agreement, active relations existed between the two countries. A trade agreement was signed in June, 1951, and was followed by the visit of a Czechoslovak cultural delegation. The December 18 issue of *Rude Pravo* described this visit:

"In the cabinet meeting of December 17, Minister V. Kopecky stated that the Czechoslovak cultural delegation had made a three months visit in China and had seen a number of the most important Chinese towns, schools, colleges, academies, galleries, museums, theaters and other cultural institutions.

"A number of problems were discussed with representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Culture, regarding the . . . improvement of mutual cultural relationships between the two countries. . . ."

As yet Bulgaria does not have a similar agreement with China, although a trade agreement between the two countries was concluded in March. Diplomatic and friendly arrangements exist however, based on the similarity of their governments. Prior to the establishment of the Communist regimes in these countries, there was no diplomatic

exchange between Bulgaria and China. Today, however, there is an increasing desire for expanding cultural and economic relations.

## Mecca for Foreign Students

An exiled Bulgarian reports that propaganda about the war in Korea, which is presented as a struggle in the defense of peace, has been intensified. On the cultural level, in compliance with orders from Moscow, the Bulgarian Government is organizing exhibitions of Chinese and North Korean art. Organized visits of artistic and musical groups are current. Student exchange, a vital feature of the program is sponsored by the Committee for Science, Culture and Arts in Bulgaria. *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), March 22, described an idyllic community of international Communist youth:

"Ninety foreign students are studying in our universities and other schools: five Chinese, one Vietnamese, a few Hungarians, Romanians, Albanians, Bulgarians and some members of the Turkish minority. All the students are housed in the living quarters provided by the Committee for Science, Culture and Arts called 'Maxim Gorki' where a very friendly atmosphere reigns."

## Student Exchange

The student exchange program, as well as the study of Oriental languages, received attention under the Polish-Chinese Intellectual Cooperation Agreement. Writing on this subject *Trybuna Ludu*, November 16, 1951, said:

"[With the aim of] strengthening foreign cultural cooperation, People's Poland is making large exchanges of student youth with other countries of the world. For instance, Polish students are studying in the Soviet Union, in China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and in other countries. . . ."

"In Poland there are about 300 students of various nationalities. Among them are Bulgarians, Hungarians, Romanians, Albanians, Chinese and representatives from capitalist and colonial countries. Foreign students are receiving scholarships and are living in Academic Homes, with board and free medical care. During summer vacation they go with Polish students to rest camps and have professional practice in various types of work. During the first part of their stay in Poland the foreign students are taught the Polish language by special instructors."

Hungary also, has taken part in the student exchange program and is host to Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese students from the Far East, whom they have put to work in the Stalinvaros Iron Works (on the Danube near Budapest). Reports from Hungarian students now studying in Peiping indicate that "they are having a most wonderful time and live luxuriously in students' homes."

On April 4, Radio Kossuth (Budapest) announced that "a delegation of Hungarian Pioneers [children between 7 and 14] visited the school for North Korean children on the occasion of Liberation Day [Liberation of Hungary from German occupation]." Hungary has taken in North Korean children, as have other captive countries.

### Intellectual Exchange

The increasing collaboration between Czechoslovakia and China has resulted in an intensified study of Chinese; dissemination of translated Chinese works; and performances of visiting artists. These activities are reciprocal. A brief refugee report, dated in March, suggests an economic motive for this cultural activity:

"The Oriental Institute in Prague has appealed to all large enterprises to subscribe to the periodical 'New Orient.' The circular contained notices on scheduled Chinese classes for Czechoslovak workers, arranged by the educational department of the Uro Trade Council. The explanation for this new drive is the planned introduction of Chinese labor in Czechoslovakia in the near future. . . ."

*Lidove Noviny*, the Prague daily which ceased publication in February (following the tightening up measures after Slansky's purge), included the following comment on intellectual influences in the two countries in one of its last issues:

"Dr. Jaroslav Prusek, top ranking Czechoslovak sinologist and head of the Czechoslovak delegation to China, reported in his letters on the influence . . . of modern Russian poetry over contemporary Chinese verse. He promised to purchase a representative collection of Chinese books . . . in order to establish in Czechoslovakia the most important [Chinese] book center in Europe (second in rank to that of the USSR). . . . Here [in China] we have become a very important country—more important than any capitalistic country . . ."

### Artistic Exchange

The scope and international aspect of the artistic activities of Iron Curtain countries was given in the following report from *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), March 2:

"In connection with the Bombay International Fair, Soviet, Chinese, Hungarian and Czechoslovak film delegations arrived in India. The masterpieces of Socialist cinematography had great success in India. The Soviet, Chinese, Hungarian and Czechoslovak film delegations met in Madras and established close relations with the population, who applauded these masterpieces enthusiastically."

On March 31, *Szabad Nep* reported that an Hungarian ensemble, after having played in the Soviet Union, would presently tour China, where there was a great demand for Hungarian talent and artistry.

Under the Agreement for Cultural Cooperation several groups of Chinese artists also toured Poland. A special exhibit, "New China" was held in Warsaw and a solemn meeting commemorated the second anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

Summing up the activities of one visiting troupe from China, *Trybuna Ludu* wrote on December 24, 1951:

"The troupe of young Chinese artists gave 76 performances seen by over 80,000 spectators during their tour through Poland. Performances were given in War-

saw, Poznan, Cracow, Wroclaw [Breslau] and other Polish cities. . . . The troupe also performed many times in places of work, such as the mine 'Wieczorek' in Zabrze and the Stalin Works in Poznan. During their visit to Poland members of the Chinese troupe have had several meetings with representatives of the Polish youth."

### III. CHURCH AND STATE

Communist leaders in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe profess their willingness to permit the free practice of religion. Nevertheless according to the slogans of Marx, Lenin and Stalin the Communist Party does not recognize religion in principle. The following excerpt from a Latvian Communist's speech recently broadcast over Radio Riga defines the role of religion:

"The basis for the beginning of religion is human helplessness, first against the forces of nature, later against social forces. . . . According to Lenin the hopeless fight of the masses against their exploiters created the belief in a better life after death. . . . Stalin's words carried the same message. For centuries . . . the working people when under oppression looked into the impenetrable heavens . . . to obtain salvation. This is how the Christian belief started. The social role of religion was well defined by Marx with these expressive words—'religion is the opiate of the people.' Lenin called religion a 'spiritual brandy.' It is our task to broaden political schooling, culture and education so that it will free the indoctrinated from the illusions of religion."

### Moscow Plans Church Conference

The Kremlin is planning a full dress meeting in Moscow of Church leaders from the entire "captive" area. A news source in Rome claims that the meeting will crystallize the official Communist attitude towards the Catholic and other Western Churches as well as the Orthodox Churches of South-Eastern Europe and the Middle East. A preliminary meeting was held on March 27 and 28 in Sinaia, Romania, attended by the Patriarchs of Moscow, Antioch, Plovdiv (Bulgaria), Romania and Georgia. It was decided to use the biblical quotation—"the fruit of truth in the world is sown for those who maintain peace"—as the conference slogan. On April 16, *Trybuna Ludu*, the official Communist organ in Warsaw, confirmed this report in part:

"Alexius, the Patriarch of Moscow . . . has proposed to all churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union to undertake a common discussion on the action for the defense of peace (reported by Tass)."

"The following Churches and institutions have fully agreed with this proposition: the Georgian, Armenian, Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, Adventist, Moslem, Jewish, and Soviet Buddhist Churches. . . ."

"In connection with this agreement the conference of all Churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union will take place in the first half of May, 1952. It will deal chiefly with the problem of peace throughout the world. . . . Several prominent Church leaders were invited from abroad."

### Catholic Press in Poland

Four types of Catholic publications are printed today under the Satellite regime in Poland which has shown a certain leniency towards the Catholic press. These publications include: diocesan weeklies; periodicals published by religious orders covering matters of doctrine and creed; theological periodicals intended mainly for priests; and those publications devoted to cultural as well as religious themes. *Tygodnik Powszechny*, the Cracow weekly, which belongs to the cultural, religious category emphasizes its editorial views within the limitations of censorship. Therefore, its interpretation of the problems facing Poland differs from that expressed in official Communist newspapers. The following report by an exiled Polish intellectual describes the contents of a typical issue and emphasizes this contrast:

"On March 2, *Tygodnik Powszechny* included over two pages in an issue of 12 pages on the anniversary of Gogol's death. Whereas the commemoration of this event in other Polish newspapers depicted Gogol as a precursor of Communist ideals, *Tygodnik's* editors described Gogol's meetings with prominent Catholic leaders of his time, and his admiration for the Polish people, their culture and language. Using illustrations such as the following two, the newspaper quoted these words of a well-known Catholic Pole of the 19th century:

"Gogol has made a strange confession to us by admitting, in the simplicity of his heart, that the Polish language seems far more sonorous . . . than the Russian.' He also revealed his enthusiasm for Polish life:

"What a life among your people! What people, what literature, what hope! Such marvels never seen!"

"In addition to criticizing three Communist weeklies, *Tygodnik Powszechny* also takes issue with the theory of self birth (the spontaneous generation of life from inert matter). It should be noted, however, that general articles of this type are printed in order to fill up space without touching politically dangerous issues."

### Catholic Paper Criticizes Constitution

In contrast to its usual policy of dealing with religious and cultural topics, *Tygodnik Powszechny* in its issue of March 16, ventured a criticism of the draft constitution. This was the first criticism of the constitution to appear in the Polish press.

"The enactment of the new constitution will be an important step in Polish public life. The constitution is termed 'fundamental law' by lawyers, because it is to act as the foundation for all other laws in a given state. [Whereas previously] a 'fundamental law' was lacking, which would synthesize the metamorphosis [of the State], this task is to be accomplished by the new constitution. Hence, interest in its provisions is understandable. A careful analysis of these provisions is required in order to establish how they are bound to determine the life of the nation."

The article then raises the question of whether the draft constitution consolidates the system of the People's Democracy, or whether "by projecting ahead, it already creates the legal frame for a Socialist State?" According to *Tygodnik Powszechny*, an historical survey of constitutions,

especially the Polish one of 1921, shows that entirely different political systems can exist within the framework of the same constitution. "However, this matter looks somewhat different with regard to the draft constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This draft contains articles of social content."

Turning to Article 70, which deals with Church affairs, *Tygodnik Powszechny* quoted the Article in full and then commented on it:

"1) The Polish People's Republic guarantees freedom of conscience and religion to its citizens. The Church and other religious bodies may freely exercise their religious functions. It is forbidden to prevent citizens, by coercion, from taking part in religious activities or rites. It is also forbidden to force anyone to participate in religious activities or rites.

"2) The Church is separated from the State. The principles of the relationship between Church and State, as well as the legal and patrimonial position of religious bodies, are determined by laws.

"3) The abuse of freedom of conscience and religion for purposes endangering the interests of the Polish People's Republic will be punished."

"Since the Constitution contains words granting the free exercise of religious functions, this should be appraised in a positive sense. But from the Catholic point of view such a decision does not cover the whole matter, and cannot be considered as a solution for the highly complicated and most important problem of the Catholic Church in People's Poland. In this matter the authors of the Constitution have limited themselves to the provisions of Article 70.

"Our attitude in this matter is clear and simple: We stand by the Agreement of April 14, 1950.\* We have always considered the Agreement as the turning point in the life of the Church and the State. We know that it aroused hopes in Poland, and in the world at large, of a possible positive arrangement, of a *modus vivendi* between the Church and the State in the Peoples' Democracies. We expressed this point of view many times in our weekly. We prize the Agreement highly, and it is our desire that it should become the permanent basis governing relations between Church and State in Poland. It is also our desire that the Constitution should not weaken, but on the contrary, strengthen this state of affairs."

### Editorial Controversy

This analysis of the draft constitution brought forth a sharp rejoinder from the official Party organ. In an article entitled "The Significance of the Words and Omissions of the Weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*," *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), March 22, wrote: "The peculiar school of this newspaper's journalism, makes it difficult to decide which is more expressive in the article: what has been written or what has been omitted."

\* A 19-Article Agreement between Church and State in which the Church agrees to teach respect for the State's authority, to oppose activities hostile to Poland and acknowledge the principle that the Pope's supreme authority over the Church refers to matters of faith, morals and Church jurisdiction only. The Government agrees, among other things, to permit religious instruction in the schools, and to permit public worship.



Praising past accomplishments, *Trybuna Ludu* says that the constitution: is a "mirror of social transformation, a chart of the civic rights already in existence. However, *Tygodnik Powszechny* does not realize all these things, because it does not want to. And the fact that it has no positive comment on the constitution is not accidental."

*Trybuna Ludu's* editorial then praises the constitution and castigates the Catholic paper for "minimizing the differences between the new and "bourgeois constitutions," under the mild term "somewhat different." It then concludes with an extensive criticism of the role of the Catholic Church in Poland.

According to an emigre journalist the general impression is that the Communists intend to hold all "trump cards" ready against the Catholic Church in Poland for the time being, but they do not plan a showdown in the near future. They have more pressing problems on their hands, such as the building of Socialism, collectivization of peasant farms, building up an efficient army, etc.

### Pro-Regime Catholics

No analysis of the Catholic press in Poland today can disregard the papers of the pro-regime Catholics. These publications, a daily *Slowo Powszechne*, and a weekly *Dzis i Jutro*, are both published in Warsaw. The third, called *The Priest-Citizen*, is the organ of the so-called "Patriotic Priests." On February 12, 1950 the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Stefan Wyszyński cautioned the faithful regarding these newspapers:

"We warn Polish Catholics on the confusion of ideas being spread by this press [pro-regime], especially in the moral and civic sphere; we warn against the erroneous interpretation of the Holy Father's attitude, given by these papers which we cannot consider as Catholic."

*Slowo Powszechne* devotes most of its space to political articles which do not differ from those in the secular Communist press. Typical topics include such titles as these: "Nationwide Discussion on the Draft Constitution Carried on Throughout the Country," "Appetites of Bonn Government on the Increase" and "Against Bacteriological Warfare." Only a short liturgical reference placed on the first page, and the column "From our Point of View" indicate the alleged Catholic character of this newspaper.

*The Priest-Citizen* is edited by a commission of priests under the auspices of the Central Board of "Warriors for Freedom and Democracy." In almost every edition "patriotic priests" appeal to the clergy to join their ranks. That their appeal is facing difficulties is evidenced in the following quotation from the February issue:

"... Unfortunately, there are still priests, who . . . do not feel united with the working masses in the process of reconstruction. They do not care about progress in the life of the community. Today's Fatherland is strange to them. Such priests live for themselves, they care only for their own interests and comforts in life. They tell each other news from the West, they discuss it, and wait for war and the change to follow."

### Religious Press in Bulgaria Curtailed

The restriction of religious publications in Bulgaria, contrasts with the comparatively free religious press of Poland. The report of a Bulgarian of the Orthodox faith, who escaped in February shows that the few remaining religious publications are published by "Communist indoctrinators and not by members of the clergy." His report which also described the position of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria predicts increasing State control:

"Prior to 1944, the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church had the right to publish newspapers, reviews, and religious textbooks to be used in public schools. With the advent of Communism in Bulgaria, one of the first acts of the government was to restrict church publications. In 1948 the modern printing plant belonging to the Holy Synod in Sofia was nationalized, and the Committee for Science, Arts and Culture was entrusted with censoring all publications of a religious nature. Religious textbooks were banned late in 1948 when all religious instruction was ruled from school curriculums. The few religious publications which still appear in Bulgaria are written by Communist indoctrinators and not by members of the clergy. All religious publications must be written in accordance with the 'true Socialist ideal. . . ."

"For example, Archimandrite Serafim Sarovski, chief of the cultural division of the Bulgarian Holy Synod, was not permitted to publish his completed book '*The Miracle Worker*.' Archimandrite Metody was not able to obtain permission from the Committee for Science, Arts and Culture to issue a second edition of his book '*Otets Ioan Kronshtadski*,' the first edition of which had been sold out."

"Metody who is at present '*protosingel*' [vicar] of the Sofia Diocese, finally intervened personally with Dimitar Yanev, Minister of Education and Jak Natan, high official of the Committee for Science, Arts and Culture, in an attempt to get his book published. But since Metody refused to alter certain chapters of his book, it could not be published."

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, theoretically autonomous, has been virtually dependent on the Soviet Synod since 1945. In Bulgaria, as in the USSR, Church affairs are handled by a department under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As the higher Bulgarian clergy is closely supervised by this governmental office and is forced to cooperate closely with their Soviet peers, it is against the lower clergy that Communist attention is now directed. The subsequent report from a recently escaped member of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church describes the curtailment of normal priestly activities:

"Government pressure against the carrying out of ordinary church services in Bulgaria is increasing. Bulgarian churchmen expect that in the very near future the Government may restrict some forms of public religious manifestations. Today the Communists do not even tolerate the preaching of sermons from church pulpits. Religious services have been reduced to reading the scriptures, though this too is considered subversive. Heretofore, the Communists have tried to limit religious ac-

tivity by applying the following measures: outright anti-religious propaganda; persecution of clerics; forcing the people to attend Communist sponsored meetings during the time religious services are scheduled; and the use of indirect intimidation to sever the relations between pastor and pastorate."

### Peaceful Co-existence

A continued struggle between the regime and the clergy of both Catholic and Protestant churches in Hungary reveals that Secretary General Rakosi's promise in 1948 of "peaceful co-existence" has not been realized. The following quotation from Rakosi's article (see page 46) in the March issue of *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review, Budapest) bears out this point, despite Rakosi's assertions:

In winning over the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses—in fact in some instances even in winning over the industrial workers—the struggle against reaction hiding behind the shield of the Church often constituted serious difficulties. . . . However, as we gradually gained among the rural population we were able to intensify our struggle against the Churches. Our first step was to disrupt the unified reactionary front of the Churches [Catholic and Protestant]. By taking advantage of the democratic possibilities in the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches we were able to mobilize parishioners sympathizing with us. At their request an agreement was reached in 1948 which made possible the peaceful co-existence of the People's Democracy and the Churches."

### "Resignations" and "Elections" in Hungary

Recent reports on the Hungarian Lutheran Church show that the regime has been making unilateral decisions on Church organization which are subsequently passed off as those of the presbytery. According to the analysis of an exiled lay member of the Church, the crisis which developed in the second half of February was the worst since the trial and imprisonment of Bishop Lajos Ordass in the fall of 1948. The most drastic change was the "election" of Erno Mihalyfi, Deputy Minister of People's Culture, to the post of Inspector General of the Lutheran Church.

The quotations which follow bear chronological witness to the increasing Communist control of the Church. *Az Ut* (Budapest), February 10, reported on the speech delivered at the opening of the Synod by Sandor Ronai, Chairman of the Presidium:

" . . . The Lutheran Church's struggle to develop our country and to preserve peace, means supporting the struggle waged by our people against the undermining activities of its external and internal enemies."

In spite of Sandor Ronai's hope that the Church would not be subject to "undermining activities," one week later *Az Ut* published an article on "Changes in the Leadership of the Lutheran Church" and announced that Inspector General Ivan Roek had resigned and was being temporarily replaced by Minister of Public Education, Jozsef Darvas. Ivan Roek was reputed to be a fellow traveler, who could no longer bear the responsibility of leading his Church towards complete state control. A week later a report in

*Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), February 26, revealed that the Lutheran Presbytery was confronted with a *fait accompli* and had "acknowledged" the resolutions presented by Minister Darvas.

"The General Presbytery acknowledged that Bishop Zoltan Thuroczy and Jozsef Szabo submitted their resignations. . . . Parishes must cast their votes for a new inspector by March 9. . . . The leaders of the four Church districts and the members of the General Presbytery unanimously proposed the election of Deputy Minister of People's Culture, Erno Mihalyfi to the post of Inspector General."

As a result, Minister Mihalyfi was elected without further discussion and almost all control of the Church was transferred from its own authorities to the State.

However, the changes effected in the Lutheran Church were not restricted to the dismissal of certain Church dignitaries. The preparatory conference, preceding the Synod in February, heralded "the amendment of the Lutheran Church Code, and the reformation of the church organization." At the church service opening the Synod, Bishop Dezserly openly announced the following, as reported in *Az Ut*, February 16:

"Our church laws will be drawn up in a country building Socialism. By passing these laws we will prepare ourselves for the new mode of life, for a people's regime which is represented by the Hungarian People's Republic."

### Calvinists Make Concessions

Simultaneous to the drive against the Lutheran Church was that against the Calvinist Church, which was also forced to make new concessions. Bishop Andor Enyedi of the Cis-Tisza district "resigned" January 7. Subsequently, a statement of the pro-regime Bishop of Debrecen, Janos Peter, was published in *Reformatus Egyház*, (Budapest), February 1, describing the regime's stand:

" . . . In accordance with the people's democratic point of view certain high as well as intermediary church officials will be relieved of their posts. . . . Those who are unable to comprehend the agreement between the People's Democracy and the Hungarian Calvinist church . . . are not fit to hold an administrative post in the Hungarian Calvinist Church."

Similar tightening up measures were taken in the Cis-Danubian district, where a church conference was held. *Az Ut*, February 23, reported:

"The conference considers it desirable that responsible . . . leaders should be in charge [of the Church] to see that the ministers teach [in the manner] recognized by our Church. . . . The Conference regards the reformation of the parish presbyteries as urgent . . . in order that the presbyters [church elders] may loyally serve the resolution accepted in faith by our Church, in their private lives as well as in their Church activities."

The meaning of the "resolution accepted in faith" was indicated by Bishop Bereczky who said: "The only justifiable church activity is that which also serves peace and the developing Socialist society of our people."

# News Briefs

## Freud Re-analyzed

A Czechoslovak psychiatrist who recently escaped to Austria comments on the problems facing his former associates:

"At the Neurological Clinic in Prague, conditions have changed considerably. Until a short time ago, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis were studied according to the teachings of Freud and his pupils. Now Freudianism is forbidden and only the Russian Pavlov method is recognized. The opinion of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education—as presented in some lectures delivered to doctors by a Ministry spokesman—is that the theories of Freud are a 'weapon in the hands of American war-mongers.' The nerve specialists of Prague have been accused of being 'infected with the Freudian pseudo-science.' Many valuable works on psychotherapy are barred from publication because they are opposed to the teaching of Pavlov. This situation puts the doctors in a difficult position. Having achieved good results through the use of Freudian techniques, they must afterwards explain their success with scientific reasons which are not Freudian. Among the doctors this often causes much amusement.

"The Communists have eradicated the term 'inferiority complex' from professional texts as well as literature. Authors who use these terms are accused of 'psychologism' (a newcomer to the collection of 'Communist-coined 'isms'). In the words of writer Marie Meierova, such wayward authors 'have been unable to free themselves from the morass of Western intellectualism.'"

## Women Man Ships

A report from a refugee gives a unique example of the attempts of Hungary's regime to replace men with women workers in all branches of the economy. According to the report, women are now being recruited as sailors:

"Six-week courses for women to be trained as sailors have been started on the premises of the Hungarian-Soviet Shipping Company. 160 trainees receive theoretical and practical training, and those who pass the course are drafted for service as sailors on the river boats and sea-going vessels of the company. Women sailors are slated to replace the younger sailors, ranging from 16 to 26 years of age, who will be drafted in the spring for the Army, police force and river guard units. Married sailors

have been told to teach their wives to substitute for them when the time comes. During the winter season, married sailors must attend political classes with their wives."

## Agenda of Toasts

This report from Hungary indicates that now after-dinner toasts are submitted by State planners and executed solely for the glory of the State:

"On the occasion of the festivities marking the seventh anniversary of the 'Liberation of Hungary by the Red Army,' celebrated on April 4 in Budapest, the following agenda of toasts was issued and strictly adhered to:

1. Long Live the Soviet Union!
2. Long Live Comrade Stalin!
3. Long Live the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship!
4. Long Live the Hungarian Communist Party!
5. Long Live the Secretary General of the Hungarian Communist Party, Matyas Rakosi!
6. Long Live the Hungarian Army!
7. Down with the Imperialists!"

## Paradise In Sight

Radio Prague, March 19, broadcast a speech by the chief planner of new Socialist towns in the Ostrava district which presents in capsule form the future Communist paradise with its standardization of community life:

"The housing will be substantially uniform. . . . Housewives will be freed of chores such as the care of children, cooking, washing and cleaning. There will be sufficient nurseries and kindergartens, and children will see their parents only in the early morning and evening, when both parents will have ample time to give them full attention. . . . Shops will be concentrated in the main street near bus and tram lines so that shopping may be done without undue loss of time and energy. Apartments will be taken care of by special cleaning brigades. . . . Who will live in these new towns? We had thought that they would house the workers who will be employed in the new factories. But visiting Comrades from the USSR have told us otherwise. The new apartments should be reserved for those who have made the greatest efforts toward the rebuilding of our country—the shock-workers and reformers [agitators]. Their former flats will be allocated to the new workers, whose merits are not so great."



### Central Committee Digs In

A Romanian refugee who escaped to Trieste reports that a large bomb shelter of reinforced concrete is under construction near Baneasa, a suburb of Bucharest:

"The shelter is being built expressly for the benefit of the regime's 'Big Seven'—the seven secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—Gheorghiu-Dej, Ana Pauker, I. Chisinevsky, Teohari Georgescu, Vasile Luca, Emil Bodnarus and A. Moghioros. Apparently, puppet Premier Petre Groza is to be left to fend for himself if the bombs start falling. The shelter is divided into underground chambers which are to be fitted out luxuriously as bars, bedrooms, drawing rooms and kitchens. All equipment is to be of the finest quality available. The expense is being defrayed by a secret fund which does not appear in the official budget and for which no accounting is made. It is the same fund which finances the palatial villas reserved for the Romanian Communist leaders and their Soviet advisors in the exclusive suburb of Snagov, 15 miles from Bucharest.

"Original plans called for the shelter to be sunk to a depth of 18 meters and divided into three floors of concrete. The dimensions were 48 x 22 meters and four underground tunnels were to radiate from the shelter. It is not known whether the original plans have been changed. Until construction was temporarily halted in November, presumably because of material shortages, the work was going ahead under the supervision of a Soviet engineer. Labor was supplied by labor battalions. Construction was scheduled to resume in March. The engineers and workmen assigned to such secret projects are, of course, paid at much higher than the usual rates."

### Persecution of Printers

A refugee, formerly a printer by profession, gives the following account of the subjugation of the printing industry in Hungary:

"The Communist regime considers the printers enemies of the People's Democracy, and this accusation is openly made at meetings. The Communists cannot forget that before the war most of the printers were members of the Social Democratic Party and had a powerful, prosperous and well-organized union. Today the Communist authorities are doing their best to destroy the old solidarity of the 'aristocrats of the working class.' With the campaign against the printers which began in 1950, the Communists succeeded in eliminating the last vestiges of the union. The property of the union—the headquarters on Berkocsis Street in Budapest—was confiscated. Most of the union leaders have retired from public life, primarily to avoid being thrown into jail.

"Before the war a linotype operator was expected to pick out 5,000 letters an hour; today the norm is 16,000 letters, based on the results of the stakhanovites. But these shockworkers obtain such results through trickery, just as they do in other fields. They work with two or three apprentices and the combined results are credited to the stakhanovites. With regard to 'socialist competition' among the workers, the latter themselves know nothing of the preparations being made. In September,

1951, the printers of the *Voros Csillag* and *Szikra Lapnyomda* shops in Budapest learned from reading an article in *Szabad Nep* that there would be a production competition between the two shops. The newspaper declared that during a meeting the workers of *Szikra* shop had invited those of the *Csillag* shop to compete with them. Actually, the Party secretaries had organized the competition without even notifying the workers beforehand.

"When the small printing shops were closed last year—the larger ones were nationalized a long time ago—all the presses and other machinery from the vicinity of Budapest were collected in a courtyard off Frangepan Street where almost 500 linotype machines rust in the rain and open air. . . .

"In cases of a typographical error, especially one which might have political significance, it is the printer who is responsible and not the proof-reader. In 1951, in the *Voros Csillag* shop, a linotype operator, instead of selecting the letters to form the words *Sztalin okle* [Stalin's fist], inadvertently wrote *Sztalin okre* [Stalin's ox]. For this mistake he was arrested and interrogated for ten weeks at the AVH prison. At the same shop another linotype operator was sent to a concentration camp for an indefinite period for setting up the words *Elszabadito Hadsereg* [Army of devastation] instead of the words *Felszabadito Hadsereg* [Army of liberation] in an article on the Soviet occupation forces."

### Reinforced Borders

Radio Warsaw, April 3, broadcast the new regulations concerning persons living in, or visiting the Polish border zones:

"All visitors are obliged to register no later than 24 hours after arrival in a zone adjoining the border. Tourists, vacationists, and persons in sanatoria or rest-homes in these zones must . . . have a document of identity certified by their place of work. Persons patronizing Polish health resorts should possess a registration card stamped by the management of the sanatorium in which they sojourn. Persons who wish to go to the zones adjoining State frontiers for recreational purposes must have a travel permit issued by the Presidium of the Council of State of the locality of their residence. . . ."

### Gypsy Trade

A Lithuanian escapee describes the Communist adaptation of an age-old trick:

"There is a traditional joke in Lithuania which concerns a gypsy who wanted to sell a horse as quickly as possible. To attract the attention of buyers, he announced an incredibly low price—five Czarist rubles.

"'I'll take it,' said a farmer who was delighted to find such a bargain.

"'Yes, sir,' the gypsy said, 'the horse is yours. But he has a very close friend. It is a cock. They are so devoted to each other that I would not dare separate them. So I could not sell you the horse unless you buy the cock also.'

"'All right,' said the farmer. 'How much do you want for the cock?'

"'100 rubles, sir,' said the gypsy. Since the farmer had agreed to buy, he found himself at the wrong end of a very sad bargain.

"The principle of the story has a modern application in Lithuania. When a woman goes to a food shop to buy, for instance, some scarce sugar, she is confronted by the salesman with these words: 'The sugar is yours, but with it you will have to buy at least one volume of Stalin's works. Or, if you prefer, you may buy a new volume of Lenin's works in the new Lithuanian edition.' When the shop is short of goods, the salesman takes the Lenin and Stalin volumes off display. Communist ideas do not grow old, and can wait until the shop receives some sugar, salt or other items in heavy demand."

### Willing Prisoners

In answer to persistent enquiries from Hungarian families whose members are still held as prisoners of war in Soviet Russia, the Hungarian Communist Party has issued a special circular addressed to the local offices which receive the enquiries:

"Inform the parties concerned that the Hungarian nationals became prisoners in Soviet Russia as a result of a Fascist war, but that they have derived in the meantime such benefits from their stay in the USSR that they have unanimously declared that they want to remain in the Soviet Union until such time as the danger of another Western imperialist war has been completely eliminated. Add also that the Hungarians in Soviet Russia are no longer considered prisoners of war but as free laborers doing their duty within a Socialist society."

### Atom Music

The monthly music review *Uj Zenei Szemle* (Budapest), in its February issue, carried a criticism of the Hiroshima Symphony written by the Finnish composer Erkki Aaltonen. The criticism is a straightforward declaration of what the Communists seek to express through music:

"He [Aaltonen] named his symphony Hiroshima . . . and thus dedicated it to the memory of the greatest tragedy in the history of mankind. What he wished to express in his composition was that when mankind in its centuries of struggle with natural forces at last released atomic energy and thus arrived at the threshold of the age of absolute well-being, a few lunatic criminals wished to use this powerful achievement of science to exterminate masses of people. . . . The finale illustrates the elemental forces of the latent atoms which, in the hands of the criminals, become weapons of destruction. It is a weakness in the symphony that some of the means of expression are borrowed from the armory of declining Western culture. This reduces its effectiveness. In the closing theme he again illustrates the power of the atom but he does not clearly point the way which could lead mankind to a stage where the possibility of another Hiroshima tragedy would be finally eliminated."

### Competition Among Skeletons

A joke allegedly circulating in Czechoslovakia tells the story of two skeletons who met in a churchyard. One of

them was strong, the other more slender. They asked each other for the date of death. The stronger one had died in 1938, the thinner one in 1945. All at once they saw a completely emaciated skeleton passing along the wall of the cemetery. They addressed him, "Friend, tell us, when did you die?" The shadow stopped and said, "Leave me in peace; I am a forced laborer, just off my shift."

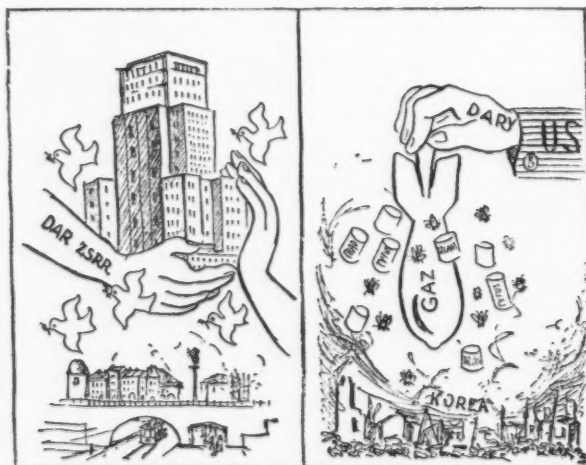
### Friendship Palace

A Moscow news source reported April 6 that the Soviet Union will build for Poland a 28 to 30-story "palace of culture and science," adding that the Soviet government will pay the construction costs as a tribute to Russian-Polish friendship. The building, which will tower over all others in Warsaw, will be erected by Soviet workers, engineers and technicians, but Polish workers will also participate. It will house the Polish Academy of Sciences and other state bodies.

Commenting on this Russian gesture, a Polish refugee declares:

"In 1945, Stalin promised Poland that Russia would help in rebuilding Warsaw. This is the sole result of that promise. . . . The construction will provide a basis for Soviet propaganda in Poland for two or three years to come (*see cut*). Furthermore, the 'palace of culture and science' will form a kind of permanent Soviet exhibition in Warsaw. Bierut has already written a letter of thanks to Stalin, and writing such letters is becoming a pastime of the Communist leaders of Poland. A virtual letter-to-Stalin campaign is under way. In view of all these factors, the new building in Warsaw is indeed a worthwhile investment for Soviet Russia."

*Dwa światy*



*Two Worlds*

*Gift from USSR*

*Gift from USA*

(Cut taken from Warsaw's Trybuna Ludu, April 13)

## Difficult to Diagnose

The following anecdote is reportedly circulating behind the Iron Curtain:

"A Hungarian walked into a Budapest hospital and asked for the eye and ear section. The nurse told him that the sections are separate; there was one for eyes and one for ears.

"'Oh, but I must go to both,' exclaimed the Hungarian. 'I don't know what has happened to me during the last few years. I don't see what I hear.'"

## Closed City

Reports regarding the Albanian capital, Tirana, indicate that this city is being constantly strengthened to meet the threats of enemies, known and unknown. A recently escaped Albanian refugee relates the following examples of increasing control:

"Life in the Albanian capital resembles that of a besieged fortress. There is a 12-hour curfew, and even during the day every second person in the street is either a policeman, soldier or officer; of those dressed in civilian clothes another 50 percent are secret police agents. In addition to the security forces of the Ministry of the Interior, there are infantry, armored troops, anti-aircraft artillery and engineers stationed at Tirana.

"It is impossible to get in or out of the capital without a special pass, good only for one single entry and exit or for one single exist and re-entry. A new permit must always be applied for on each new occasion.

"The newly constructed quarters of the town, where the high Communist functionaries and their families are installed, and where the Russian mission occupies a series of offices and a whole block of flats and houses, is like a fortress within a fortress. No one without a personal *laissez-passer* issued by the Albanian Security Police, and counter-signed by the Russian duty officer, can obtain access to this section. The document indicates the exact date and hour of the proposed visit; and it must afterwards be signed by the person or officer visited in order to enable the holder to leave the district again. Outsiders are usually accompanied from the check points to the house or office they wish to visit.

"The streets inside this quarter of the town are controlled by Russian security patrols, and all entries and exits to it are blockaded by stones, barbed wire entanglements and reinforced concrete. There are machine gun nests, and all security guards and officials checking the visitors are heavily armed.

"Fingerprints are taken of every visitor allowed in; he must deposit all his identity documents, except for the special *laissez-passer*, with the guards at the check point. He is also searched for arms. No one is allowed to leave by a different check point; he must go out the same way by which he entered.

"All these measures were devised after last year's abortive revolt in which high Albanian and Soviet officials were killed. Bombs exploded, wrecking a Soviet mission building and part of a grandstand during a military parade."

## Ancient Folk Custom Banned

A Catholic priest who fled to Vienna writes of the curtailment of religious demonstrations in his homeland:

"In Hungary popular feasts on the name-days of saints were a very old custom. Pilgrims from faraway villages used to throng to feasts held in rural districts. Now the State Office for Church Affairs has prohibited pilgrimages in the Budapest area. It is illegal to set up booths selling souvenirs around parish churches on the occasion of pilgrimages, or to celebrate saints' days in any other public manner. Instead of this, 'popular rallies' are held at which various articles of propaganda are sold and bands play Russian tunes."

## Greek Spies Honored

Following the campaign launched in Hungary to stop the execution of the Greek Communist spies, the propagandists staged a virtual national mourning after their execution. According to an editorial in *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), April 1, "the whole capital wept over the execution of Beloyiannis."

Radio Budapest, March 31, announced:

"Montgomery Avenue will be renamed Beloyiannis Avenue and Zoltan Street will be renamed Beloyiannis Street. The inhabitants of the village of Gorogfalva have called on the local council and unanimously approved a proposal that their village be renamed after Beloyiannis, who died a martyr's death for the cause of liberty and peace. The request of the villagers was forwarded to the Minister of the Interior, who has given his consent. The new sea-going vessel launched by the Ganz-Danubius Shipyard, which will sail the Mediterranean, has been named after Beloyiannis."

## Communists Attach History

A refugee from Bucharest reports that the Communist regime in Romania is centering its cultural propaganda on the celebration of Leonardo da Vinci's fifth Centenary. According to this information, the versatile artist and inventor of the Italian Renaissance is represented as a forerunner of the "great Communist philosophers." This follows the pattern applied to Victor Hugo and especially to the Romanian satirist Caragiale (whose name was misspelled, and quotation marks around the word "Communist" omitted by error, in the April issue of *News From Behind The Iron Curtain*). Caragiale was a 19th century Romanian "Swift," who satirized the political leaders of his time, although he was a member of the conservative party.

## Polish Treasures Claimed

The Polish government, through Radio Warsaw, March 27, released the contents of a note to the Canadian Charge d'Affaires in Warsaw dealing with Polish art treasures deposited in Canada during World War II:

"Twelve years have elapsed since the priceless treasures of culture and history of the Polish nation, rescued from the Nazi invaders by the workers of science and art at



the risk of their lives, were taken out of this country and handed over to the Canadian government for safe-keeping during the war with Nazi Germany. Among these treasures are the art collections of Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow and parts of collections from the Warsaw Royal Castle and the National Library in Warsaw. Included in these collections are the coronation sword and the coronation cape of Polish kings, and the oldest relics of the Polish writings of the 12th and 13th centuries, including the Gold Chronicle, the Chronicle of Wincenty Kadlubek, and the Swietokrzyski Sermon. There are 136 16th century masterpieces of tapestry which adorned the walls of the Wawel Castle. There is also sheet music written in Chopin's own hand.

"Seven years have elapsed since the end of the war. . . . So far, the treasures handed over to the Canadian government have not, in spite of numerous demands on the part of the Polish government, been returned to their rightful owner, Poland. . . . It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the action of the Canadian government is characterized by an unfriendly attitude toward Poland. . . ."

A refugee diplomat, commenting on this situation, declares:

"It is curious that the Polish regime shows such anxiety to recover treasures such as the coronation insignia. The regime tries to prove its right to Polish history which, on the other hand, it repudiates by such acts as removing the crown from the White Eagle, a historic national symbol. The Canadian government, which guardedly replied to this note that its responsibility for the treasures was limited to granting the entry permit and allowing them to be deposited in Canada, may be respecting the original conditions imposed by the trustees [who are private citizens] of the treasures that the articles be held in Canada until the accession of a legal, representative government in Poland."

*Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 11, reported that the Soviet government had delivered valuable "documents of Polish culture" to Poland:

"On April 10, at the Soviet Academy of Sciences [Moscow], a ceremony took place at which the Soviet government handed over the archives of Coperniciana and other valuable historical documents of Polish culture to the Polish delegation. These documents were found by Soviet soldiers in Frombork and carefully preserved by them at the time of the last World War. Among these papers, besides the archives, there are works of Marcin Kromer, Polish historian of the 16th century, and manuscripts of Ignacy Krasicki. The documents total well over 300, in 12 large boxes.

"During the ceremony, [Polish] Vice-Minister of Academic Learning Golanski expressed his thanks to the Soviet government, and at the same time pointed to the conduct of certain capitalistic countries, such as the government of Canada which has refused to restore Polish cultural treasures. 'Polish science,' declared Golanski, 'is supported by the Polish-Soviet friendship and by leading Soviet science. Millions of Poles welcome the act of transfer of Polish documents . . . as proof of the friend-

ship of the Soviet Union and of the great coryphaeus of science Joseph Stalin.'"

### Compulsory Party Work for Pensioners

An Hungarian refugee who arrived in Vienna in March writes the following account of the Party work required of pensioners:

"'People's educators' and peace committee secretaries are instructed by Party headquarters to induce pensioners to participate in agitation and propaganda work. They must explain to the pensioners that social work is compulsory, and that the Party expects them to devote their time to 'Democratic re-education work' in return for the 'incomes they draw from the State Treasury without working.' As a result of this Party order, many Party agents are trying to make the intimidated pensioners perform all the work. Thus, in most Budapest apartment houses, the pensioners have been put in charge of the Party bulletin board, of collecting subscriptions for Party publications, conducting the thrift campaigns, and propagandizing various exhibitions. Those who refuse to cooperate are threatened with the loss of their pensions."

### Heavy Duty

A refugee in Italy who recently sent a gift package to a relative in Romania writes:

"My cousin had to refuse the package because the Romanian government levied a duty of 8,250 lei [about \$750] on it. She did not possess such a sum and was unable to get it. The package contained nylon stockings, a fountain pen, woolen sweaters, a woolen scarf, a box of cocoa powder, several packages of razor blades, some cakes of soap and some canned coffee. Books of every kind are confiscated. The duty on each item, according to a form given to her, was: Sweaters—550 lei; cocoa—500 lei; stockings—300 lei; scarf—300 lei; razor blades—50 lei; pen—1,000 lei; sweater—500 lei; soap—25 lei."

### Tin Boxes Eulogized

According to an Estonian refugee, the Tallin Sheet Iron Factory *Norma* is a small workshop employing ten workers in the manufacture of tin cans. Radio Tallin, February 24, devoted considerable time to a letter of thanks written by a smith in a Moscow factory to the Tallin factory for a tin box:

"Recently I bought a box of candy with the imprint of the Krasnoi Oktjabr factory [Moscow]. The candies were of good quality and the box of sheet iron made with artistic taste. On the box I found the mark: Factory *Norma*, Tallin, Estonian SSR. Such a box is a great joy for children and housewives. On all sides there are pictures of Moscow. After eating the sweets the box can be used for other purposes, because it is made of the best material and is very durable. To receive such a box is the wish of many consumers and they are always quickly sold out. For making such a beautiful and pleasant thing I give you my best thanks, Comrade Estonians."



From the tribunal of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum, Premier Vulko Chervenkov (center) addresses Sofia crowds on the seventh anniversary of the Communist coup d'etat in Bulgaria (September 9, 1944). He is flanked by Soviet officers, Communist leaders and ambassadors from countries of the Soviet bloc. Cut taken from the Bulgarian newspaper *Norodna Mladezh*, September 10, 1951.

### Shrine In Sofia

A Bulgarian refugee who was formerly employed at the Dimitrov Mausoleum in Sofia gives the following description of the memorial:

"Within hours of the death [in Moscow] of Premier Georgi Dimitrov on July 2, 1949, an assembly of Russian and Bulgarian architects was called to design a mausoleum to celebrate the memory of the most outstanding Bulgarian Communist in history. Contractors were commanded to construct the platform and building in time for the funeral. On July 8, the embalmed body of Dimitrov lay in state at September Square, Sofia, just opposite the former Royal Palace. Where six days before there had been trees and grass, a great mausoleum now stood virtually completed.

"The rectangular building lies on a large cement platform which, in turn, extends out on the square. On celebration days Communist dignitaries stand on this imposing structure, while in the square below Bulgarian crowds witness endless speeches and spectacles. On a typical Communist holiday, all Bulgarian members of the Politburo and members of the Ministerial Council stand side by side, flanked by diplomats of Soviet Satellite governments and Russian leaders. Before the death of Dimitrov, Bulgarian Communist officials suffered from the lack of a suitable site from which to appear on days of celebration. Among other benefits derived from the passing of the revered Dimitrov, this mausoleum stands as a sacred shrine for the worshippers and as an imposing summit from which the worshipped can take their bows. Seen as a tableau it is identical with similar demonstrations held in Moscow's Red Square.

"Three afternoons a week the public is permitted access to the Mausoleum. The building is windowless; therefore, as the citizen walks through the doorway into

the narrow passage which he must follow, he blinks to adjust his vision to the variety of colored lights which illuminate the interior. He is led on a path bordering the corners of the building, with stiff, impassive guards posted at intervals. In the center of the Mausoleum, encased in glass and lying in a coffin on a catafalque, is the body of Georgi Dimitrov. He is clothed in black garments of state. As the procession of visitors shuffles slowly by, the guards are stationed to prod the lingerer whose curiosity wants greater satisfaction.

"When the citizen has once again returned to the cheerful outdoors, he is directed to the unpretentious grave of Kolarov Vasil, successor to Dimitrov until his death in January, 1950. This relatively simple tomb lies within 30 meters of the Mausoleum.

"To maintain the building and grounds, forty Bulgarians are regularly employed. Another ten persons are attending special courses under the Ministry of the Interior to qualify for future duties in the Mausoleum. Not included as regular personnel but in attendance most of the time are a Russian specialist in Mausoleum 'activities' and two Russian assistants who act as embalmers and undertakers. Technical installations are located in the basement of the Mausoleum. These include climatic control providing an even temperature and air conditioning; electric light control, and central heating. The daily cost of maintaining this tremendous enterprise is impressive. Everybody working for the Mausoleum ranks high on the Party lists. Mausoleum personnel is supplied with food and goods from shops which cater only to the most favored Communists. The doorkeeper, who receives the lowest salary of the staff, pockets a 'whopping' 15,000 *levas* per month, as compared with an average 8-12,000 in government offices and 9-10,000 for a Bulgarian working man. The average salary paid to Mausoleum workers is about 20,000 *levas* per month."

### School for "Escapees"

Recent reports allege that a school for 'false political refugees' has been set up in Bucharest:

"The school is located at the Soseaua Pandurilor, near some military barracks. It is attended by Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians and Albanians. The instruction is given by Russians who each know one of the Eastern European languages, as well as French and English. The students are briefed on the life, customs and habits of the Allied occupation authorities in Austria and Germany. All who are being prepared to 'escape' receive detailed instructions on everything that might happen to them, including the questions they will be asked. As political refugees in the West, their mission is to collect data for the Cominform."

### Ingenuity Triumphs

*Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), February 17, wrote:

"Unassembled French and English automatic feeder equipment was delivered to the glassworks at Ujscie. But the senders forgot to enclose the blueprints for putting the equipment into operating order. It seemed for a while that the machines so necessary for production and costing the State a considerable sum of foreign currency would lie useless in the boxes. The Central Alliance of the glass industry for six months searched all over Poland for experts, not knowing that in the glassworks there were comrades who were able to figure out a means for assembling the equipment. . . . The machines were then assembled within three days and not within three months, which the foreign makers had said it would take. Thus the malicious plans of the foreign suppliers were crossed up."

### Quick Thinking Necessary

A Bulgarian escapee tells the following anecdote from his native country:

"A peasant from the province of Russe, near the Danube, took his first trip to Sofia. After rambling about the city, he stopped in front of the cathedral on the Sveta Nedelia Square. While he was admiring the beautiful church, a militia officer approached and asked him what he was doing in the square. The peasant quickly replied, 'I am looking at the Sveta Nedelia Cathedral. This is the first time I have seen it.'

"'You are fined 100 leva,' said the agent. 'There is no Sveta Nedelia; this is Lenin Place.'

"The poor peasant paid the fine and started out for the railroad station by Maria Luisa Street. As he was not sure he was on the right road, he asked a policeman on duty whether this was Maria Luisa Street and if it led to the station. The words were hardly out of his mouth when the policeman said, '100 leva fine. Don't you know there is no longer a Maria Luisa Street? It's called Georgi Dimitrov Street now.'

"The confused peasant paid the fine. He finally reached the station and asked what time the train for Varna was due to leave.

"'What are you talking about? You don't mean Varna; the city is called Stalin now. I will have to report you to the authorities.'

"The peasant was completely crushed and began wondering whether he were not really in Russia instead of Bulgaria. He boarded the train quietly and sat in a corner determined not to give away his ignorance again.

"As the train approached the city of Russe, one of the travellers, seeing a winding river, asked the peasant, 'Is this the Danube?'

"'No one is going to fool me this time,' replied the peasant. 'It is the Volga, and I am Stenka Razin.'"



# Birth of a "People's Democracy"

IN 1919, Lenin said, "For a revolution to be victorious it is extremely important that the strength of the opponent be divided." As the most recent exponent of Communist tactics, Matyas Rakosi, Secretary General of the Hungarian Communist Party, made an address entitled "The Way of Our People's Democracy" at the Party Academy on February 29. The March issue of *Tarsadalmi Szemle*, (Social Review, Budapest), printed the speech in full. In it, Matyas Rakosi described the feigned coalition tactics of the Hungarian Communists.

It was the first time a leading East European Communist has felt safe to reveal publicly both the theoretical and practical features of the Soviet blueprint of conquest.

A similar attempt was made in 1949 by Jozsef Revai, Hungarian Minister of People's Culture, when he published an article entitled "On the Character of Our People's Democracy" which appeared in *Tarsadalmi Szemle* in the March-April issue. But the time for such statements was evidently not ripe. All copies of the magazine with the article were hastily recalled by the Hungarian government.

The following excerpts constitute the highlights in Rakosi's speech.\*

## Initial Communist Strategy

"At the beginning of 1945 when our country was liberated, the Hungarian Communist Party entered the political arena legally and openly after 25 years of underground activity.

"What were then the strategic targets of our Party?

"As did the Communist Parties of all the other countries enslaved by Hitler, the Hungarian Communist Party, following the teachings and guidance of Comrade Stalin, organized an anti-Fascist coalition with the collaboration of anti-Hitler peasants, petty-bourgeoisie . . . in fact, of all those who were prepared to take part in this struggle for the liberation of the nation. . . . We began our work by organizing the Hungarian National Independence Front—the coalition of parties and elements opposed to both Nazi imperialism and feudalism. . . .

"The presence in the country of the Soviet Army precluded any attempt at armed rebellion, similar to those led by the White Army generals Denikin and Kolchak during the Russian revolution. In the first place the armed forces of the Soviet Union were responsible for the fact that the counter-revolutionaries did not dare resort to such bloodshed in order to restore their rule. The Soviet Army also protected us from imperialistic intervention. The Soviet Union shielded us from diplomatic interference of the great Western powers, assisted us in the

conclusion of the peace treaty, and in the building up and consolidation of our foreign relations. These circumstances, naturally, helped to strengthen Communist influence, and the growing sympathy of our toiling masses toward the Soviet Union facilitated our task. . . .

"Without these factors our People's Democracy would never have come to life; its development would not have been as quick, powerful, and free from violence.

"Soviet 'interferences' in our internal affairs were quite frequent and of great help in the strengthening of our Party, but not in a sense imputed by the imperialists. . . .

## Opposition Eliminated

"We repeat: without the heroic fight of the Soviet Union for liberation and without its well-meant assistance, the Hungarian People's Democracy—and we may add—the others, too, would never have been born. But they could not have been born even then, if the Hungarian Communist Party had not won over the great majority of the workers, the peasants, of the entire toiling nation by its self-sacrificing work, its example, by the persistent and effective protection of the workers' interests, and its successful struggle against reaction. . . .

"Let us see how our Party carried out the task of winning over the bulk of the toiling masses, which is an indispensable prerequisite for the realization of the proletarian dictatorship. . . .

\* The complete text is available at the Research and Publications Service.

"Our competitor in winning over the industrial workers was the Social-Democratic Party. The majority of its leaders consisted of Horthy's police spies, or British agents, and after the liberation they entered the service of the imperialists, just as had the Smallholders' Party leaders. Naturally, these leaders would have preferred to see Hungary occupied by American or British troops. Their majority hated the Soviet Union, and in the beginning maintained close ties with the Labor Party, serving the interests of British imperialists, and tried to carry out its instructions and follow its advice; later it was guided more and more by the American imperialists. . . .

"After the liberation the greater part of the peasants—first of all the wealthy peasants and kulaks, as well as a good part of the petty-bourgeoisie, hastened to join the ranks of the Smallholders' Party. In 1920, after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, this Party won the majority of seats in the parliament. Nagyatadi Szabo, the then kulak leader of the Smallholders' Party, allowed the Counts, great landowners and capitalists to invade this party, to corrupt it from within, and finally to take over its leadership and reinstate their reign. From that time on the Smallholders' Party showed half-hearted opposition to Horthy, and in 1944 when the defeat of fascism became a certainty, it also established certain relations with the Communists of the Hungarian Front. . . .

### Parting of the Roads

"The question immediately arose—what next? We endeavored to carry on the development in the direction of the Socialist revolution, and looked for the support of the Soviet Union. The Smallholders' Party and the Social-Democratic leaders fought for the preservation and strengthening of the capitalistic system (they participated only unwillingly and grudgingly in the land reform), thus seeking the support of the imperialists. However, since they could not admit this fact openly and clearly to the masses, they did not dare break with the Independence Front and the Communist Party. This, nevertheless, does not change the fact that the struggle of maintaining, for the time being, the coalitional status, has grown in strength: the roads are beginning to part.

"It became obvious in the summer of 1945 that all the elements supporting the old regime—the landowners, bankers, house owners, Horthyist politicians and officers—were grouped in the Smallholders' Party. This party was supported by the Churches—their dignitaries occupying leading positions. The imperialists immediately contacted this party, chiefly through the diplomatic representatives in Hungary. . . . The official and particularly the unofficial stand of the Smallholders' Party was that to begin the rehabilitation of the country without outside assistance was hopeless. According to them, rehabilitation could start only upon receiving a substantial loan from America, which naturally would involve the compliance with political terms, deriving from the loan. . . .

"The strength of the parties was revealed for the first time at the National Assembly elections, held in Novem-

ber 1945, seven months after liberation. At these elections the Smallholders' Party won absolute majority, i.e., 56 percent of the ballots. The Communists were running neck-and-neck with the Social-Democrats, getting seventeen percent of the votes, but they won one more mandate, thus becoming the second largest party of the country. The Peasant Party did not quite win eight percent of the votes. . . .

"The result of the elections was acclaimed with great joy by the Hungarian—and we might add—the international reactionaries. This joy was somewhat marred by the fact that the Communist Party showed its might not only in the industrial worker circles, but also among the peasants. Our Party used the results attained in the elections to further consolidate its position. Therefore, it claimed for its members the office of Deputy Premier, and the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was granted after much wrangling.

### "Salami Tactics" Applied

"At the beginning of March 1946, the Left-Wing Bloc stressed its demands by staging a demonstration of the Budapest workers. Under the threatening effect of the imposing and disciplined meeting, numbering over 400,000 participants, the Smallholders' Party was obliged to meet the demands. It had to expel 21 of its most incriminated members. . . . The 'proletarian fist' concentrated in the capital enhanced the prestige of our Party.

"Thus, four months after the victory scored by the Smallholders' Party at the elections, our Workers' Party dealt a powerful blow to the reaction. . . .

"As a sequence to the successful counter-attack launched in March 1946, the unmasking, demoting and isolation of the reactionary elements within the Smallholders' Party pursued its course. The Smallholders' Party was constantly compelled to expel or discard single individuals or groups of its discredited members. This gradual, day-by-day 'slicing-off' of the reaction lurking within the Smallholders' Party was then termed 'salami tactics.' In the course of our incessant struggle against the enemy, it was gradually frittering away its strength, and its impact on the working peasants was waning.

"These achievements enabled the third Party Congress, which convened at the end of September 1946, to continue and to outline more precisely the way which was indicated in March. . . . Among the targets set by the Congress, the most important one was the realization of the People's Democracy, because 'it is only the People's Democracy that enables our country to march toward Socialism without civil war.' . . .

"Meanwhile the reaction derived new hopes from the approaching peace conferences. It reckoned on the Soviet troops leaving the country a few months after the conclusion of the peace treaty. Nevertheless, it received a good lesson from the March mass demonstration, and realized that if it were to openly fight against the achievements of Democracy, the Communist Party, with the help of the working masses, would be able to thwart its plans. The

reactionaries, therefore, resorted to underground conspiracies in order to annihilate by an armed uprising at a propitious moment, all the achievements of the People's Democracy, by collecting the supporters of Horthy's regime, the Arrow-Crossists, the antagonistic elements lurking in the army and police force, and with the assistance of the foreign imperialists. As it was later revealed, the conspirators counted in the first place on the Smallholders' Party leaders. . . .

"We were aware of the fact that the disclosing of the conspiracy meant a defeat for the enemy, as a result of which we were able to accelerate our slow, cautious, step-by-step tactics, and that after compromises and temporary solutions we could take bolder steps toward the achievement of our goal. The storm around the conspirators gained considerably in strength in the winter of 1946-47. The majority of the Smallholders' Party leaders, being well aware of the extent of the conspiracy, put up a desperate defense. The bulk of the Social-Democratic leaders hastened to their rescue. . . .

### Bewildering the Enemy

"The Western imperialists who for two and a half years had tried to achieve their goals through the Smallholders' Party, now, when this party was beaten, attempted to push the Social-Democratic Party before the Communist Party. Thus, the Social-Democratic Party endeavored to unite under its aegis the disintegrating masses of the Smallholders' Party adherents, to assume leadership, in order to carry on the unsuccessful subversive activities of the Smallholders' Party against democracy and the Communist Party. . . .

"Hinting at the Communist Party they began to announce their readiness to protect the independence of our country against any strivings to make it a 'member state' of the Soviet Union. They took a stand against 'any kind of dictatorship.' They began to make frequent mention of 'Communist terror,' promised 'life without fear' and assured the peasants that they, too, are against the 'kolkhoz and chow-line.' In other words, they assumed the role of a party gathering all the anti-Communist elements under its wing. . . . On August 31, 1947, the day of the elections, several attempts at provocations were made by the Social-Democrats, which were facilitated by the fact that the traitor Laszlo Rajk, Minister of the Interior, was their accomplice. Although these provocations did cause a slight commotion at the elections, and somewhat reduced the number of votes for the Communists, they could not halt further developments. . . .

"During the 22 months that had elapsed since the elections held in 1945, the Communist Party was able to increase the number of its votes by 40 percent. The Peasant Party, the loyal ally of the Communist Party, was also quite successful. These two parties together won 400,000 votes. . . .

"After the elections, our enemies made another attempt to oust the Communists from the government, with the

help of the Smallholders' and Social-Democratic Parties. For this purpose they used the discontent among the Smallholders' Party members over their defeat, and wanted to elect a reactionary leadership at a hastily convened party congress. . . . In the course of a few short days this attempt was frustrated, and the new leadership of the Smallholders' Party, headed by Istvan Dobi, was composed of elements that since 1945 had staunchly advocated the idea of cooperation with the Communist Party. The struggle with the Social-Democratic Party was longer and tougher; its leaders, likewise using the discontent provoked by their defeat, led the movement, which, in essence, had for its goal the abolishment of the old coalition, and the setting up of a new government without the Communists. . . .

### End of Social Democratic Party

"The new government in which, due to the changed circumstances, the role of the Communist Party became even more dominant, was formed at the end of September. . . .

"After the new government was formed, our Party developed with accelerated tempo. Its first objective was to prevent the Pfeiffer Party, a fascist organization which broke away from the Smallholders' Party, and called itself the Hungarian Party of Independence, from sabotaging further the building up of Democracy. Despite its nature, the Social-Democratic Party leaders hastened to give it their support. They frankly admitted that their purpose for doing this was to halt the spread of Communist influence which would be inevitable if the Pfeiffer Party were suppressed. The final position was such that even the Smallholders' Party demanded the suppression of the Pfeiffer Party; as regards the Social-Democratic leaders, they gave their consent to this step only at the last moment, after debates and meetings which lasted till dawn, under the pressure exercised by our Party and their own masses. Meanwhile Pfeiffer escaped to Vienna, where he openly declared—in his name as well as in the name of his party—that he was an enemy of Democracy; this declaration aroused all-round indignation, and precipitated the dissolution of his party. The working masses, especially the industrial workers welcomed with joy the news of the liquidation of this fascist organization, and indignantly discussed the fascist-saving attempts made by the Social-Democratic Party. . . .

"A few days after the dissolution of the Pfeiffer Party another very important step was taken—the nationalization of big banks, which meant at the same time the nationalization of a considerable part of Hungarian industry. The entire labor force, and the workmen of the nationalized industries in particular, welcomed with great joy and enthusiasm this measure which was planned by our Party and realized in spite of the delaying tactics of the Social-Democrats. . . .

"On seeing the progress we were making, the 'left-wing' Social-Democratic leaders embarked upon a bold venture. In order to save what still could be saved, at a public meeting on February 18, 1948, they excluded their most



compromised leaders and expressed their wish to convene a special party congress at which their merger with the Communist Party would be declared. . . .

### **Merger of Communists and Social Democrats**

"The struggle for winning over the majority of the industrial workers ended in the victory of the Communists and the complete defeat of the Social-Democratic Party. The merger of the two parties, based on Leninist-Stalinist principles, was brought about in June 1948. And thus, the organized unity of the working class under the leadership of the Hungarian Communists was realized.

"By winning the overwhelming majority of the working class and decisive part of the peasantry we had assured the two prerequisites needed for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. From then on we made rapid progress: at the end of March 1948 we nationalized all concerns employing more than one hundred workmen. The large majority of industrial workers were working already in nationalized plants and we launched the slogan: 'The Country Is Yours, You Are Building It for Yourself!'

...  
"The realization of labor unity and the expulsion from the Party of treacherous Social-Democratic leaders was followed by similar steps taken in other parties. The Smallholder and Peasant Parties expelled from their ranks most of those elements whose democratic attitude and political loyalty and honesty were doubtful, and intensified their cooperation with our Party. This process was facilitated by the fact that many of their members and local leaders applied for admission into our Party. The Independent Hungarian Democratic Party and the Radical Party, which at the time of the 1947 elections constituted the opposition to the Independence Front and won about seven percent of the votes, under the impact of the Party's progress asked to be admitted themselves into the Independence Front as soon as they had purged their ranks. Under these circumstances the People's Democratic Party, which at the 1947 elections gained votes primarily from Catholic peasants, began to disintegrate. . . . The outlines of the working people's unity were becoming ever more distinct and the prerequisites to the establishment of a People's Front and a People's Republic were created.

...

### **Communists Invade Army**

"A desperate struggle was waged also for gaining control over the Armed Forces, the Army, the Police, and the State Defense Authority. . . . While the parties of the coalition government demanded commanding posts in the ratio of their parliamentary representation, we, so to say, postponed the struggle waged for control over the Army. This we attained, by preventing the building up of the Army to the maximum strength permitted in the Armistice Agreement and the Peace Treaty. Thus, until 1948 the strength of the Army was only 12,000 instead of the permitted 65-70,000. . . .

"But even in this small army there was a fierce fight for every commanding post, from noncommissioned officer to general. However, as soon as the struggle was decided on the political level, the situation within the Army changed, too. When in the fall of 1948 our Party took control of the Ministry of Defense, we could expand our army. . . .

"A desperate struggle was waged within the Police Force, which also was taken over by our Party. The old time, Horthy-bred police staff did everything in its power to exclude the delegates of the toiling people—the policemen and police officers of working class and peasant origin. The fight was naturally decided the very moment the majority of the workmen and peasants sided with our Party.

"The State Defense Authority is the only administrative organ which was immediately taken over by our Party and in which any division or coalitional ratio was excluded. Although the enemy managed to infiltrate it to a certain extent, we nevertheless had this institution firmly under control right from the start and took care that it should remain a sure and sharp weapon in the struggle waged for the People's Democracy.

"All in all, the struggle fought by us to win a majority in the Army, under the circumstances prevailing in the Hungarian People's Democracy on account of the presence of the Soviet Army, was of minor significance and was less fierce than the struggle . . . preceding the proletarian dictatorship of 1919, or than the struggle in the Soviet Union in October 1917. . . .

### **Attack Against Church**

"In winning over the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses—in fact in some instances even in winning over the industrial workers—the struggle against reaction hiding behind the shield of the Church often constituted serious difficulties. The bulk of the Church leaders took a stand against Democracy from the very first moment. The opposition was particularly strong in the Catholic Church whose estates were seized in the course of the first land distribution. From 1945 to 1948 the Churches fought against us with a unified front. However, as we gradually gained among the rural population, we were able to intensify our struggle against the Churches. Our first step was to disrupt the unified reactionary front of the Churches. By taking advantage of the democratic possibilities in the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches we were able to mobilize parishioners sympathizing with us. At their request, an agreement was reached in 1948 which made possible the peaceful coexistence of the People's Democracy and the Churches.

"As far as the Catholic Church was concerned the situation was different. The leaders of this Church, on orders from the Vatican, maintained close connections with the American imperialists. When we had exposed the reactionary leaders of the Smallholders' Party as agents of the American imperialists, the Social Democratic Party was

ordered to the front line. When the treacherous Social Democratic leaders, and later Pfeiffer and his friends were exposed, it was the leaders of the Catholic Church who came onto the scene, and became the representatives of American imperialism. Their activity was stepped up at the end of 1948 when, as was revealed in the Rajk case, they were to have played a special role in connection with the armed invasion planned by Tito and his gang with the assistance of spies and provocateurs who had infiltrated the Hungarian labor movement.

"However, the Hungarian People's Democracy was on the alert and Cardinal Mindszenty was put on trial. At the trial the activities of Mindszenty and his accomplices were revealed and it became evident that they wanted to restore not only the old order of the capitalists and landed proprietors, but also the loathesome Hapsburg dynasty. . . .

### Communist Victory Hailed

"After having secured the support of all the strata of the toiling people in the fall of 1948 our Party was able

to start tackling the problems of Socialist building in the rural areas and the introduction of collective large-scale farming. . . .

"As a result of the progress and success of our People's Democracy, the working people unanimously accepted the leadership of our Party. This unity was imposingly and unmistakably expressed in 1949 at the elections of the re-organized Independence Front. On the single list of the People's Front appeared the names of the best of the working people—workmen, peasants, intellectuals, women, youths, the representatives of the five parties composing the People's Front. The people's enthusiasm at the elections was unprecedented. As more than five million filed past the polls, the election turned into a huge popular festival, a tremendous demonstration of unity of the liberated workers, the effect of which could not be denied even by the enemy. This is the way the National Assembly elections took place, this is the way in which the will of the people was expressed. And it is this that our enemies brand 'the oppressive dictatorship of the minority.'"

# Research Projects on Eastern Europe

*Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe*

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service, the Mid-European Studies Center and the Mid-European Law Project. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

*Health Service in Poland*, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 11 pages, mimeographed. The organization of the health service in Poland reveals the political character of the medical assistance offered to the people behind the Iron Curtain. One of the conclusions of this brief study emphasizes the dependency of the people upon the government for all their medical needs. This attitude pervades the training of the doctors as well as the care of the patients. Specifically, the report points out the extent to which health insurance, medical research, hospitalization, the control of epidemics, medical academies and nurses' training institutes are all dependent, in Poland, upon the government's Ministry of Health. Price 10 cents.

*Economic Treaties and Agreements of the Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe, 1945-1951*, (Mid-European Studies Center, 1952) 135 pages, mimeographed. The conditions of foreign trade and international economic cooperation are closely related to the internal developments of the captive countries. This survey examines the international treaties and agreements in the Eastern and Central European area from the viewpoint of the economic advantages or disadvantages for the countries involved. Throughout, the dominant position of the Soviet Union guides the general conditions of economic exchange. All the known treaties and agreements entered into by the Soviet Union with its satellites and by the satellites among themselves are listed in the study. In order to provide examples of the ways in which international situations are used to further specific economic aims, every type of agreement is represented by at least one selected treaty. The study is one of a series prepared by the staff of the Mid-European Law Project (a cooperative activity of the Library of Congress and the Mid-European Studies Center). A limited number of copies are available. Price \$2.00.

*The Text of the Polish Communist New Draft Constitution*, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 23 pages, mimeographed. The news of the New Draft Constitution for Poland was broadcast in English from Warsaw on January 28, 1952. The complete text of this constitution has now been prepared. With many similarities to the Soviet constitution, the new draft for Poland will legally incorporate many new features of Soviet control into the economic, political and cultural life. Especially interesting is the organization of the Sejm which is "the highest organ of State authority." The text is presented without comment. Price 10 cents.

*Fuel and Power in Captive Middle Europe*, Jan Wszelaki; (Mid-European Studies Center, 1952) 63 page pamphlet. Reprints of the sections on petroleum and natural gas, which appeared in the international industrial weekly, *World Oil* (May 1, 1952), are available upon request. The complete study appraises Mid-European power resources in terms of available coal, lignite, coke, manufactured gas, oil, natural gas, synthetic fuels, and electricity. Price 25 cents.



## CENTRAL and EASTERN EUROPE





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